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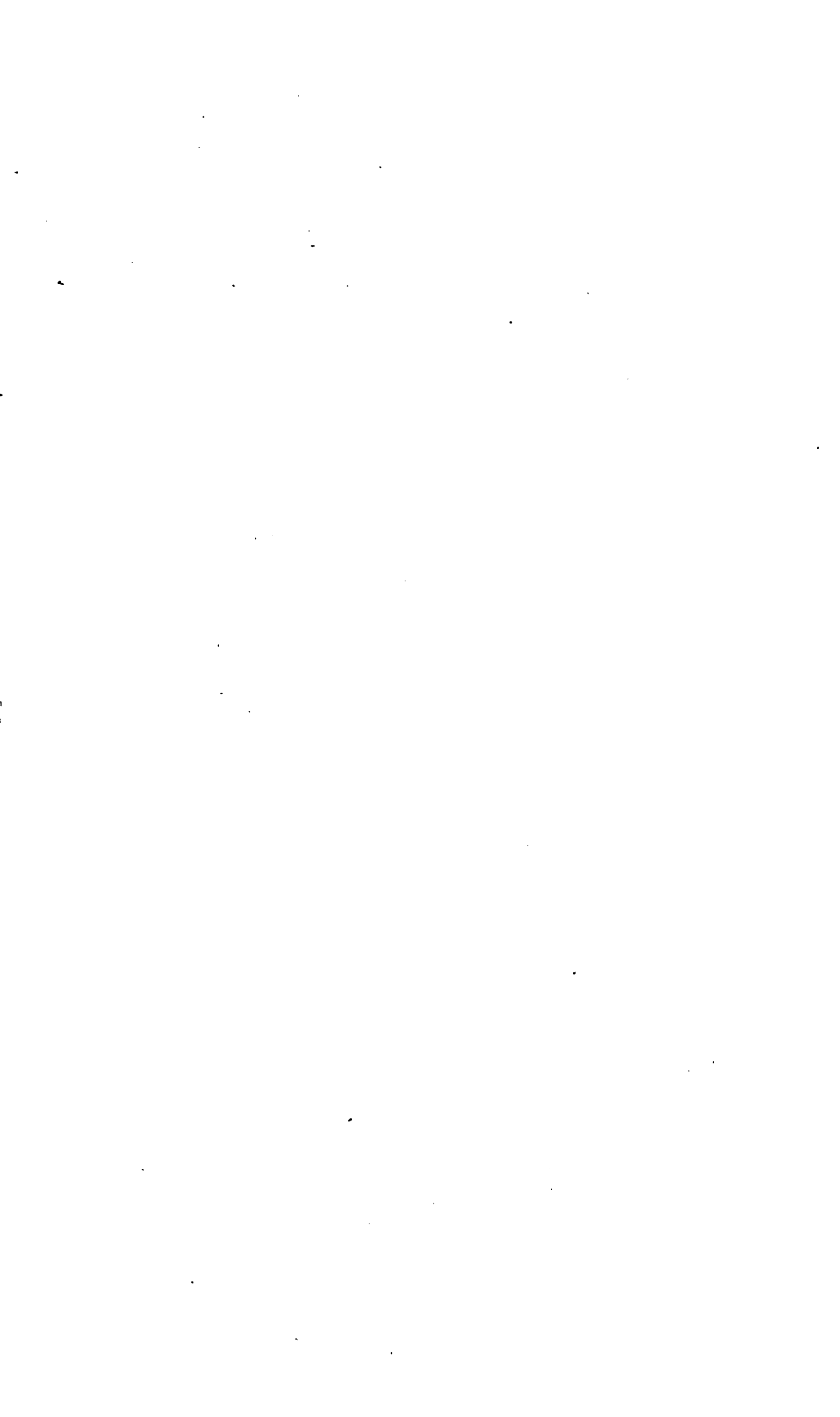
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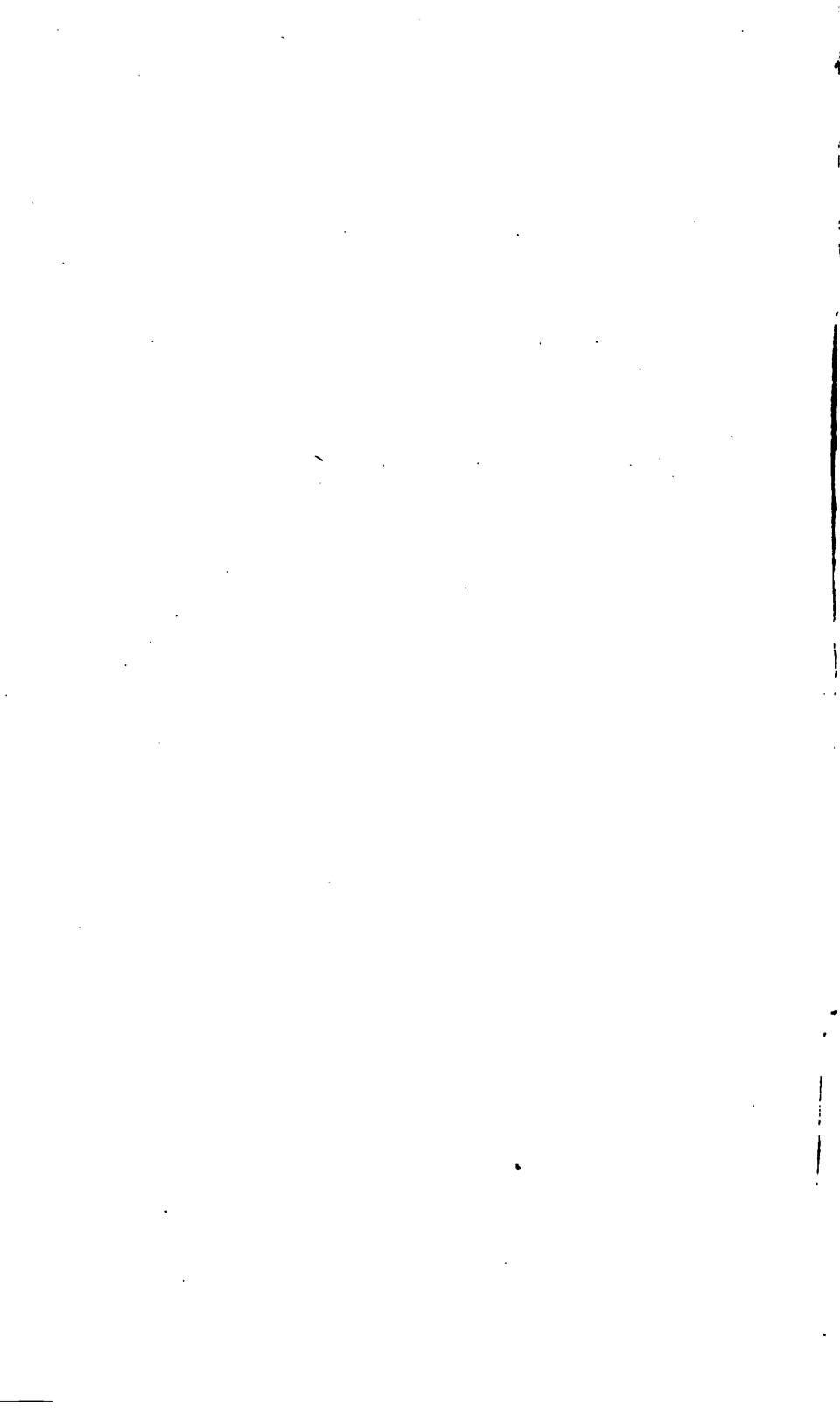
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13 July, 1893.





A HISTORY
OF THE REFLECTIVE PRONOUNS IN THE
ENGLISH LANGUAGE

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

FOR THE
ATTAINMENT OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG

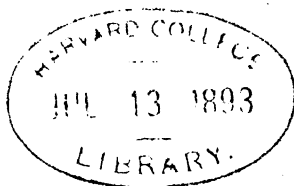
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Lane Fund.

A history of the reflective pronouns in the English language.

All Germanic languages agree in the use of the personal pronouns for the first and second persons in a reflective sense, but with regard to the third person we make the discovery that the greater part of those languages correspond in the possession of a separate form to express a reflective relation. The English language makes an exception from this rule, in as much as it possesses in reality no true reflective pronoun at all, or in other words, there exist no equivalents to the Latin pronominal forms „se, sibi.“

The forms of the proper reflective pronoun of the third person in the old Germanic dialects, are as follows:

	<i>Genit.</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Accus.</i>
Gothic:	seina	sis	sik
O. H. Germ:	sīn	—	sih
Middle H. Germ:	sīn	sich	sich
The dative form „sich“ is rarely found.			
	<i>Genit.</i>	<i>Dat.</i>	<i>Accus.</i>
New H. Germ:	seiner	sich	sich
O. Saxon:	—	(sih)	(sih)
(very rarely found)			
O. Norse:	sīn	ser	sik
O. Fris:	sīn	—	—
Anglo-Sax:	—	—	—

We see, there is no form whatever corresponding to the Gothic: „seina sis, sik“ existing in the Anglo-Saxon language.*)

In all other languages of German origin (Danish, Dutch, Swedish) the true reflectives occur, the same it is with all those languages which are directly derived from the Latin; so that the Anglo-Saxon and in consequence the modern English stand alone in the entire absence of them. The personal pronouns are, therefore,

*) About the Anglo-Saxon form „sīn“, used in a reflective sense, we shall have to speak below.

to be employed in a reflective sense in the third person as well as in the first and second. At a very early time the forms with „self“ came in use and in order to avoid speaking in an ambiguous manner, this word „self“ became much more necessary and is used to a much greater extent than otherwise would be the case. How the formation of the reflective forms was accomplished and how they gradually assumed their present shape, shall be the object of our investigation.

The origin of the reflective pronouns in the English language and their gradual development down to the present established rule, have been the object of much controversy and dissent, ever since grammarians commenced to examine this question. Nor without cause.

The present forms „myself, thyself, himself, herself, itself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves“ may undoubtedly be considered as some of those which offer the greatest difficulties for a satisfactory explanation.

The best English grammarians from Joannis Wallis downwards, have either not attempted to solve this question at all, being content to lay down the rules under which those forms were used at the time in which they wrote, or they treat it with negligence, their opinions being not unfrequently ill-founded and delivered at random.

Joannis Wallis, the first who gave his countrymen a grammar which possessed no ordinary merits, says: „Self“ est nomen substantivum, quamvis a quibusdam pronomen censeatur. „Himself“ pro „hisself“ and „itself“ pro „itself“.

The custom of annexing „self“ to pronouns in the singular number only, and „selves“ to those in the plural number, contributed probably to bring Wallis to this view, as the English adjective does not vary in the plural number. Another cause may have been the apparent possessive form of „my, thy“ in „myself, thyself“ etc.

The opinion of Wallis was adopted by the greater part of all modern English grammarians who were content to acquiesce in this conception, which remained the ruling one for a long period.

Even Murray and Latham incline to this view. The latter says: „In myself, thyself, ourselves, yourselves“ the construction is that of a common substantive with an adjective or a genitive case. In „himself, themselves“, when accusative, the construction is that of a substantive in apposition with a pronoun, when nominative, they must be considered not as two words, but as a single word compounded“.

This explanation labours under some confusion and affords us no insight into the true character of the reflective pronouns. Besides, Mr. Latham leaves it doubtful, whether „self“ in „himself and itself“ is to be considered as a substantive or an adjective; he seems, however, inclined to take it as a substantive.

Dr. Johnson appears to have entertained the first slight

misgivings with regard to the substantive character of „self“; but, for two reasons, he cannot bring himself to consider „self“ in connexion with pronouns as anything but a substantive, first on account of the plural form „selves“, and secondly on account of the apparent possessive form of „my, thy“ in „myself, thyself“ etc.

Mr. Todd ventured to oppose the opinion of Dr. Johnson and tried to remove those doubts. With regard to the use of „selves“ as the plural of „self“, he alleges the fact that „selves“ has not been introduced into the language till after the time of Chaucer, who used „selven“ indifferently in the singular and plural number.

As for Dr. Johnson's second reason, he proposes the new hypothesis, that in their combinations with „self“ the pronouns are not to be considered as possessives, but as the old oblique cases of the personal pronouns. In order to explain his opinion, Mr. Todd knows nothing better than a comparison of the French „moi-même, toi-même“ with „myself, thyself“ and he says that the reason why we do not say to-day. „I-self or Je-même“ is „for the sake of fuller and more agreeable sounds.“

In these views he was supported by Mr. Tyrwhitt who, in his essay on the language of Chaucer, endeavours to put the question in the right light. It seems to me, Mr. Tyrwhitt has had no very clear ideas of the matter at all. Although his opinion accidentally approaches the true mark when he says that „my, thy“ in „myself, thyself“ must not be considered as possessive pronouns, but that they are with greater probability the Saxon genitive cases of the personal pronouns, still I should very much like to hear Mr. Tyrwhitt explain his reasons for this opinion. I think, it is delivered quite at random without any serious investigations, he is merely guessing and shuns the trouble of a close examination. Especially what he says about the use of the reflective pronouns at the time of Chaucer, is, for the greater part, mere nonsense. He says:

„Chaucer's great departure from the ancient usage was with respect to the pronouns, personal prefixed to „self.“ Instead of declining them through the cases which they still retained, he uses constantly „myself“ for „Iself and meself“, „thyself“ for „thouself and theeself“, „himself and hireself“ for „heself and sheself“; and in the plural number, „ourself“ for weself and usself, „yourself“ for „yeself and youself“, „hemself“ for „theyself.“ It would be vain to attempt to defend this practice of Chaucer upon any principles of reason or grammatical analogy.“

Mr. Tyrwhitt expresses himself as if forms like „Iself, we-self, theyself“ etc. had, since the Anglo-Saxon time, been in constant use in the English language until the time of Chaucer, who, against all principles of reason or grammatical analogy“ resolved on inventing or adopting instead of them the forms „myself, ourself, hemself“ etc., quite arbitrarily, just because „any regular practice was preferable to the confusion and uncertainty which seem to have prevailed before.“

I think „confusion and uncertainty“ are terms more applicable to the opinion of Mr. Tyrwhitt than to the ancient use of the reflective pronouns. With regard to „himself, themselves“ neither Todd nor Tyrwhitt venture to deliver their distinct opinions. —

Even the far deeper learning of our German grammarians has failed to prevent them from being at variance with regard to this question.

Jacob Grimm (cf. German grammar Vol. III. pg. 5) inclines to consider „self“ in „myself and thyself“ as a substantive form; he explains it in the sense of the middle High Germ. „lîp“ or of the English „my body, thy body.“ Unable to explain „himself, themselves“ in the same manner, he denounces them as solecisms which existed already in Old English. This was Mr. Grimm's first opinion; subsequently he has, however, adopted a new one. (cf. Germ. gram. Vol. IV pg. 360). Here he explains the forms „myself, thyself“ as genitive cases, sprung from the A. S. „mîn sylfes, þîn sylfes.“ In the same manner he considers the plural forms „ourselves, yourselves“ as genitive cases and he explains the „s“ as the sign of the original genitive for the plural as well as for the singular number, quite conform to „ours, yours“ (A. S. úseres, úres, eóveres) where the „s“ simply denotes the genitive case. The genitive „his“ of the third person of the personal pronoun being only used in a possessive sense, Mr. Grimm explains „himself“ as the dative case („him selfum“ used in preference to „his selves“). In „herself“ (hire selfre) the genitive and dative cases are blended, whilst „themselves“ derives from the dative „þám.“ In „itself“ (hit selfe) alone the nominative case is preserved.

Mr. Grimm's views became the foundation on which our later grammarians more or less formed their opinions.

Mr. Fiedler (grammar of the Engl. language vol. I. pg. 228) is content to acquiesce in Mr. Grimm's opinion, avoiding the risk of delivering a decisive opinion of his own.

Mr. Koch (historical grammar of the Engl. lang. vol. I. pg. 470) is doubtful how to explain the Semi-Saxon forms „misilf“ and „mesilf“; he thinks it most probable that they sprung from the oblique cases and as a proof he alleges the Old English termination „en“ in „yourselven“. In „misilf, thisilf“ he sees the beginning of the substantive use of „silf“, in as much as these forms gradually become predominant about the time of Wiclyffe.

Mr. Mätzner (Engl. grammar part I. pg. 318) is for the most part inclined to adopt the opinion of Mr. Grimm. He considers it quite likely that the blending of the cases may have contributed to make the originally dependent genitives be used at a later period quite independently. The permutation of the genitive of the personal pronoun with the possessive pronoun being of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon, he is, however, doubtful whether it be safe to discard entirely the ancient view of considering the pronouns connected with „self“ as possessives, in which case it is not at all necessary to regard „self“ as a substantive. The opinion

of Mr. Grimm in taking the „s“ in „ourselves, yourselves“, as the sign of a genitive case, in conformity with the genitive form „ours, yours“, does not meet the approbation of Mr. Mätzner. He alleges that the Old English offers the forms „self, selve, selven“ for the plural as well as for the singular number. The form „selves“ must, therefore, needs be considered as the real sign of a plural which was introduced at a later period.

Having thus rehearsed the different opinions of the most renowned grammarians, both English and German, it will be necessary, before we can venture on pronouncing our own opinion, to develop the history of the reflective pronouns from their origin down to the present time. To this end we will divide our dissertation into two parts: in the first we will examine the etymology and inflection and in the second the syntax.



PART I.

INFLECTION OF THE REFLECTIVE PRONOUNS.

PERIOD I.

EXPRESSION OF THE REFLECTIVE RELATION IN THE ANGLO-SAXON LANGUAGE.

The reflective relation was expressed in Anglo-Saxon in three different ways:

- A. By means of the simple personal pronouns.
- B. By means of the personal pronouns connected with „self, silf, seolf“.
- C. By means of „self“ without a pronoun.

A. By means of the simple personal pronouns.

Paradigm.

	<i>I. Pers.</i>	<i>II. Pers.</i>
<i>Singular</i>	{ <i>dat.</i> me <i>acc.</i> mec, me	{ þe þec, þe
<i>Dual</i>	{ <i>dat.</i> unc <i>acc.</i> unc (uncit)	{ inc incit (inc?)
<i>Plural</i>	{ <i>dat.</i> ūs <i>acc.</i> ūsic, ūs	{ eóv eóvic, eóv

III. Pers.

	<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>	<i>neut.</i>
<i>Singular</i>	{ <i>dat.</i> him <i>acc.</i> hine, hyne	{ hyre, hire hi, hio, hie	{ him hit
<i>Plural</i>	{ <i>dat.</i> him, heóm <i>acc.</i> hi	{ the same for the fem. & neut. genders.	

Examples.*)

Dative sing. „me.“

Ne ic me svôr fela áða on unriht. Beóv. 2738.

Naefre ic me ondraede dômas þine. Juliana 134 cf. ibd. 210.

Ac ic me be healfe mínum hláforde be svá leófan men licgan þence. Byrhtnôð 318.

In this last example „me“ might be considered as accusative, put in place of or attenuated out of „mec“; I believe it however, to be very doubtful, whether the construction of „þencan“ with an accusative cum infinit. can be proved, at least in Anglo-Saxon poetry, whilst a reflective dative, added to this verb, is frequently found.

Gebād ic me tô þā þan beáme (crucem adoravi). Das heil. Kreuz 122.
 Ic þe nu hālsige and gebidde me tô þe. Hymn. & Gebete 3,48.

Accus. sing. „mec, me“.

Ic me sôfte mæg restan. Genes. 434.

Ic me reste. Rāthsæl 82,5.

Ic vende mec on vāteres hrycg Caldēas sēcan. Sal. & Saturn 19.

Dat. sing. „þe“.

Nim þe þis ofet on hand. Genes. 518.

þū meaht þe forð faran. Genes. 543.

Rite þe be þissum feávum forðspellum. Bī manna mōde 46.

Accus. sing. „þec, þe“.

þāt þu þe ne belge við me. Genes. 18,30.

Nelle þu ôð ende yrre habban ne on êcnesse þe āva belgan.
 Psalm 102,9.

Cen þec mid crāfte (imper.) Beóv. 1219.

Dat. sing. masc. „him“.

Hêt tô him cnihtas gangan. Dan. 431.

Ac him Loth gevât of byrig gangan. Genes. 2591.

Visdôm is se hêhsta crāft and se hāfð on him feover ôðre crāftas.
 Boethius. Bosworth gram. pg. 298.

Dol bið se þe him his dryhten ne ondraedeð. Seefahrer 106.

Dat. sing. femin. „hire, hyre“.

Sum heó hire on handum bār. Genes. 636.

Volde hyre bûr atimbran. Rāths. 30,5.

Gevât hyre vest þonan. Rāths. 30,10.

Seó sunne hāfð þreó āgennesses on hire. Koch, gram. II § 315.

And sāt hire feorran. Genes. 21,16.

The dative of the neuter gender (him) is not used as a reflective pronoun.

The quoted passages are taken for the greater part out of Anglo-Sax. poetry (Grein, Biblioth. der A. S. Poesie I. & II. In order to avoid misconceptions we write down the titles of the poems as Mr. Grein gives them,

Accus. sing. masc. „hyne“.

āhōf hine við his hearran. Genes. 263.
 þe hine ne varnað. Genes. 635.
 þær se rica hyne reste on symbel nihtes inne nergende lād
 Holofernes. Judith 44.
 Nās he faege þā gyt, ac he hine gevyrpte, þeah þe him vund
 hrine. Beóv. 2976.
 hwar he hine maege gerestan. Apoll. of Tyre pg. 18.

Accus. sing. fem. „hi, hio, hie“.

Seó hi deáfe déð, dytted hyre eáran (se surdam reddit). Psalm 57,4.
 Micel bið se meotudes egsa, for þon hi seó molde oncyrræð.
 Seefahrer 103.
 (Seó eádge sávl) forlaeted þās laenan dreámas and hió við þam
 lice gedaeled. Crist 1668.
 Hāt sīdian Agar ellor and Ismael laedan mid hie (secum). Genes. 2785.

Accus. sing. neut. „hit“.

þā gegaderode micel folc hit. Sax. Chron. 921.
 And reste þāt folc hit on þam seofodan dāge. Exod. 16,23.

Dual dat. „unc“.

Fordon he unc self bebeád, þāt vit unc vīte varian sceolden.
 Genes. 800.
 Fordon vit laedan sculon teónvit of þisse stōve and unc stadol-
 vangas rūmor sēcan. Genes. 1911.

Dual acc. „unc“.

Gif vit unc gedaelað. Rāthsel 82,7.
 Vit unc in þære burnan vaðodan. ātǵadre! Höllenfahrt 1,32.
 Vit unc við hronfixas verian þohton. Beóv. 540.
 þāt vit unc eft in þam ēcan gefeán on sveglvuldre geseón mōstun.
 Gúðlác 1159.

Dual dat. „inc“.

Ac niótad inc þās ôðres ealles forlaetað þone aenne beám, variað
 inc við þone västm. Genes. 235.

Dual acc. „incit, inc“.

Restað incit hēr! Genes. 2880.
 Ne cearað incit ellor sēcan vinas uncūde, ac vuniað hēr. Genes. 2732.
 The passage „variað inc við þone västm“ may also be regarded
 as accusative.

Plural dat. „ūs“.

Ve þe ēstlice mid ūs villað ferigan frēollice ofer fisesc bād efnc
 tō þam lande. Andreas 292.
 Is hit mycle sēltre... þāt ve hine ālysan of leodobendum ealle
 ānmōde (ōfost is sēlost) and us þone hālgan helpe biddan,
 geóce and frōfre! Andreas 1565.

Plural accus. „ûsic, ûs“.

Vutun ûs tô symbeldäge settan. Psalm 117,25.

þæt ve mægon ûs gerestan. Apol. of Tyre pg. 18.

For „ûsic“ in the reflective sense I failed to find an example.

Plur. dat. „eóv“.

Nimað þás þing mid eóv. Apol. of T. p. 18.

Gâd eóv heonan. ibd. pg. 13.

Beoð eóv stille. Exod. 14,14.

Restað eóv. Aelfric (Koch, gram. II, 315).

Berað þás þing mid eóv. Apol. of T. p. 18,

Gold-hordiað eóv sôðlice gold-hordas on heofenan. Matth. 6. 20.

Plur. accus. „eóv, eóvic“.

þæt ge recene eóv fýsan tô gefeohte. Judith 189.

Restað eóv. Aelfric.

For „eóvic“ in the reflective sense I failed to find an example.

Plur. dat. „him, heom“.

Saeton him át vîne. Dan. 696.

And ondrêdon him. Genes. 861.

Gevitan him þá Nordmen nægledcnearrum... ôfer deóp vâter
Dyflin sêcan. Âdelstân 53.

þæt hio Criste hêrdon and hiom lif mid him langsum begêton.
Psalm L (Cott. Grein II 278, 56).

Nâmon hî eác svylce him vealhstôðas of Franklande mid. Beda,
lib. I, 15.

Plur. accus. „hi, hig“.

And hî mid vrâðum vordum trymmað. Psalm 63,4,

þæt þá aglaecan hy eft gemêttan. Beóv. 2592.

þá þeóvas stôdon át þam glêdon and vyrmdon hig (Rask, A. S.
gram. p. 54).

Possessive Genitive.

In Anglo-Saxon as well as in all other Germanic idioms pronominal adjectives or possessive pronouns are found. They are formed from the genitives of the first and second persons and of the uninflected (unge[ç]leçtig) third person of the personal pronouns, by giving them the inflection of the indefinite adjective. If the possessor himself is the subject of a sentence, these possessive pronouns express a reflective possessive relation; „sîn“ is solely employed in this manner, but very rarely and it is exclusively found in the earliest monuments of A. S. poetry (Beóv. Cädmon, Cynevulf). This usage lies, however, not within the compass of our present investigation, since we have to treat here only of the reflective and not of the possessive pronouns. Still we must take into consideration the second means which the ancient language employs to express the possessive relation in the third person, at least in so far as this relation

a reflective sense: I mean, the genitive of the inflected (*geſchlechtig*) personal pronoun, sing. „his, hire, his“, plur. „hira or heora.“ No adjective has been developed out of these genitives neither in Anglo-Saxon nor in the greater part of the other related idioms. (The High-Germ. and Dutch (Grimm I, 712) and the old Fries. dialect (Heyne, Laut- und Flexionslehre pg. 339) make an exception). These forms have preserved their original pronominal value. We have here a remarkable coincidence of the Anglo-Saxon with the Latin, at least with regard to the means and resources of the language; there is, however, a vast difference in the application of these forms. Whilst in Anglo-Saxon the genitive of the inflected (*geſchlechtig*) pronoun of the third person is used to express a possessive relation, whether it be in a reflective sense or not, and whilst the adjective „*ſin*“ is used besides solely to mark a reflective possessive relation, we find that in the classic Latin the genitive of the pronoun (*ejus, eorum, earum*) serves only to express a not reflective possessive relation, whilst the adjective „*suus*“ expresses this relation only in a reflective sense.

Examples.

Singul. masc.

þegn vinedryhten his vātere gelafede. *Béov.* 2722.

And valdend mid handum his eft on heofonrice rihte rodorstōlas, *Genes.* 747.

(Sātan) cvað þāt his līc vaere leóht and scēne, hvīt and hiov-beorht. *Genes.* 265.

þāt se rīca āhōf up from eorðan þurh his āgen vord frēa ālmihtig. *Genes.* 148.

Forþon he him gevit forgeaf and mid his handum gesceōp hālig drihten. *Genes.* 250.

Sing. femin.

Vīf unhyre hyre bearn gevrāc. *Béov.* 2121.

Me þāt vīf sāgde hire vordum selfa. *Genes.* 2648.

þāt heo hire mōd ongan laetan āfter þām lārum. *Genes.* 591.

Plur. masc. and femin.

Bare hie gesāvon heora līchaman. *Genes.* 784.

þāt hie drihtnes heora villan braecon. *ibid.* 684.

Eodon þā stercedferhde hāled heora hearran cyðan. *Jud.* 56.

The dual is expressed by adding „*bega, begra*“ to „*hira, heora*“; in most cases, however, by the simple plural (cf. the above quoted passages. *Genes.* 684. 784).

ōð. þāt hīe (sc. Abraham and Loth) on þam lande ne meahton leng somed blaedes brūcan and heora begra þær aehte habban. *Genes.* 1892.

Heora bega fāder. *Genes.* 2600. —

That these genitives in Anglo-Saxon were considered as such and not like the modern „his, her, its, their“ as pronominal adjectives, is proved as well by the want of inflection, as by the freedom which they enjoy with regard to their position. They can be separated from their substantives by several words, the best proof of their independence:

ôð þāt he gelaedde bry d mid bearnum under burhlocan in Saegor his. Genes. 2536.

Valdend his heofena heāhcyning honda āraerde hēhste við þam herge. Genes. 49.

ôðer his tô eorðan elnes tilode. ibd. 972.

Hû Gûðlāc his in godes villan mōð gerehte. Guðl. 66.

Other examples, but without a reflective possessive relation, may be found:

Genes. 301. Menologium 172. Cf. also Grein, Biblioth. der A. S. Poesie I, 361.

B. Expression of the reflective relation by means of the personal pronouns connected with „self seolf“.

In general, the simple personal pronouns were quite sufficient to express a reflective relation in Anglo-Saxon, but with regard to the third person irregularities and ambiguities were unavoidable. The reason is that not only the dative singul. and the dat. plur. masc. and neuter had the same forms, but also (and this was still worse) there existed no formal difference between the expression of a reflective relation and the expression of the other construction in which the activity of the verb refers to a third person. For instance, when we say: „he cvealde hine“, the meaning can be either: „he killed himself“ or „he killed him“, that is somebody else.

This ambiguity was undoubtedly the cause that already in Anglo-Saxon the reflective pronoun was distinguished from the personal pronoun by means of the addition of the adjective „self, seolf, sylf“. Originally, this means was, most likely, only employed in cases where it was indispensably necessary for reasons of greater perspicuity i. e. in the third person; from the third person this usage was naturally transferred to the first and second persons. This supposition agrees exceedingly well with the original signification of „seolf“, that is, if we accept the etymology of „seolf“, as it is established by Pott and J. Grimm, who maintain, that „seolf“ goth. „silba“ is a contraction of the root of the pronoun of the third person „si“ and of a noun, derived from the goth. verb „leiban“ (goth. perhaps „leibs“, old H. Germ. „lip“, vita). If we are allowed to conclude that the appurtenance of „sylf“ to the pronominal root „si“ (which remained extant in the possessive „sîn“) was yet alive in the Anglo-Sax. idiom, we may further conclude that nothing was more natural than the employment of „sylf“, in order to distinguish in the third person between the reflective and the per-

sonal pronoun, the more so as the root „si“ served in other idioms, nearly related to the Anglo-Saxon, to express the reflective relation.

This word „sylv“ possesses in Anglo-Saxon the nature of an adjective, and must, therefore, correspond in gender, number and case with the word to which it belongs. The first trace of the use of „sylv“ as a substantive may be found in the adverbial form „þæt sylfe“ (just the same, the like):

Môna þæt sylfe.... nider gehreosed. Crist 938.

Me þæt sylfe... Râthsel 10 in No. 5.

And eadmêdum eac þæt sylfe. Psalm 81, 3.

Still it must be observed that „sylv“ has, in these cases, not lost the signification of an adjective, nor accepted the sense of a concrete individuality like the modern English „self“.

Regarding the inflection, it appears that in all oblique cases and, therefore, in all cases in which a reflective relation is expressed, the indefinite inflection alone is admissible, whilst in those cases in which „sylv“ is added to a pronoun or to a substantive in a reenforcing sense, the definite inflection is prevailing.

The Anglo-Saxon coincides herein with the Old-Saxon, cf. Heyne, glossary to Heliand pg. 294, and Benecke, gloss. to Iwein p. 238.

With the construction of „sylv“ in the sense of „idem“, placed between the definite article and a substantive, our present investigation has nothing to do. Of „sylv“ in the reenforcing sense we shall have to speak separately. Here we have only to consider those cases in which „sylv“ is added to the oblique cases of the personal pronouns which refer to the subject of the same sentence and depend either on a verb or on a preposition.

In order to gain a clear view of the Anglo-Saxon compound reflective forms, I put them together, as follows:

Paradigm.

Numb.	Case	Gender	I Person	II Person
Singular	dat.	{ masc.	me seolfum	þe seolfum
		{ fem.	me seolfre	þe seolfre
	acc.	{ masc. fem.	mec, me seolfne mec, me seolfe	þec, þe seolfne þec, þe seolfe
Plural	dat.	masc. and fem.	} ûs seolfum	eóv seolfum
	acc.	masc. and fem.	} ûsic, ûs seolfe	eóvic, eóv seolfe
Dual		dativ accus.	unc seolfum unc, uncit seolfe	inc seolfum inc, incit seolfe

III Person.

	<i>mascul.</i>	<i>femin.</i>	<i>neuter</i>
<i>Singul.</i>	<i>gen.</i> his seolfes <i>dat.</i> him seolfum <i>acc.</i> hine seolfne	— hire seolfre hi (heo, hie) seolfe	— — hit seolf
<i>Plural</i>	<i>gen.</i> heora seolfra <i>dat.</i> him seolfum <i>acc.</i> hi seolfe	— him seolfum hi seolfe	— — hi seolfu

Examples.

Singular.

1. *pers. dat. masc.* „me seolfum.“

þæt is þe geþeó þinga gehvylcê and on me selfum, sôðfast
cýning, raed áraere. Hymn. und Gebete 4, 12.

þæt ic bi me sylfum secgan ville. Deór's Klage, 35.

Ic me sylfum vât áfter líces hryre leán unhviten. Gúðlác, 1065.

Ic bi me sylfum spráce. St. John 7, 17 (edit. Junius and
Marshall).

Eorðan gefylle, ealne middangeard and merestreámas stíde mid
me sylfum. Ráthsel 67,8.

1. *pers. dat. fem.* „me seolfre“.

No examples. *)

1. *pers. acc. masc.* „me seolfne“.

Ic sverige þurh me sylfne = per memetipsum juro. Älfr.
transl. of the bible. Genes. 22,16.

(Undoubtedly to write „me sylfne“, not with Bosworth, diction.
p. 376,2 „me sylfre“).

Ic gesvutelige him me sylfne. Joh. 14,21.

1. *pers. accus. femin.* „me seolfe“.

No examples.

2. *pers. dat. masc.* „þe seolfum“.

þu tîða gehvane of sylfum þe symle inlîhtest. Crist 108.

2. *pers. dat. fem.* „þe seolfre“.

No examples.

2. *pers. acc. masc.* „þec, þe seolfne“.

Veorða þe selfne gôðum daedum. Valdere I,22 (Grein. append.
to Beóv.)

Lufa þinne nêhstan svâ þe sylfne. Matth. 19,19.

þu vylt þe sylfne gesvutelian ús. Joh. 14,22.

*) That means, I failed to meet with any examples in the considerable A. S.
literature I have been perusing, though those forms might occur elsewhere.

2. *pers. acc. femin.* „þec, þe seolfe“.

No examples.

3. *pers. genit. masc.* „his seolfes“.

He bôð his sylfes (jactatur de se ipso). Bī manna mōde 28.
And he þaer his sylfes lange gemynegeunge gedyde. Orosius,
book III chapt. 1 § 4.

3. *pers. dat. masc.* „him seolfum“.

þā se þeoden his þegnas sende, hēht bringan tō him selfum bryd
Abrahames. Genes. 2628.

3. *pers. dat. femin.* „hire seolfre“.

Nis nu ofer eorðan aenegu gesceaft þe ne hvearfige svā svā
hveól dēð on hire selfre. †Ālfr. Metra XIII, 73.
Ac hió (scil. seó sávle) bið eallunga an hire selfre. Metra XX, 220.
Hió (scil. seó sávle) bið svīde fīor hire selfre beneoðan. Metra
XX, 222.

3. *pers. accus. masc.* „hine seolfne“.

þaer he hine sylfne on þam sige þreáte behydan maege. Crist. 843.
cf. ibd. 1321.

Se þe hine sylfne in þā slīðnan tīd þurh oferhygda up āhlaened....
Bī manna mōde 52.

Sīððan hine sylfne āfter sundplegan heáhmōð hefēð on heáhne
beám. Phoenix III.

3. *pers. acc. femin.* „hi seolfe“.

Svā dēð mannes sávl, hveóle gelīcost, hvārfēð ymbe hy selfe.
Metra XX, 210. cf. ibd. 214, 217, 221.

þonne hió (scil. seó sávle) ymb hire scyppend mid gesceād smeað,
hió bið āhāfen ofer hi selfe. Metra XX, 218.

3. *pers. acc. neutr.* „hit seolf“.

Forþaem he hit sylf ne geseah. Orosius I, 1,14 (it is, however,
more probable that „sylf“ belongs here as reenforcement
to „he“).

Plural.

1. *pers. dat.* „ūs seolfum“.

And betwyx ūs sylfum. Sax. Chron. 1052. Cott. Tiber. B. IV.

1. *pers. accus.* „ūsic, ūs seolfe“.

Ve þurh gifre mōð besvicon ūs sylfe. Höllenfahrt, 96. (I remark
that „sylfe“ can be here just as well nominative and belong
to „ve“, a construction often met with in A. S.)

Hū ve heora an þyssa nihta magan maest besvican, and ūs
sylfum betst vord and langsumast aet ūrum ende gevyrcan.
Orosius lib. II, 5 § 4.

2. *pers. dat.* „eóv seolfum“.

No examples.

2. *pers. accus.* „eóvic, eóv seolfe“.

Ofer eóv sylfe. Lukas 23,28 (Bosworth). Eóv sylfe. Marc. 13,9 (Rask).

3. *pers. genit.* „heora seolfra“

Vín drincende vaeron ôð hi heora sylfra lytel geveald hæfdon. Oros. II, 4 § 8.

3. *pers. dat.* „him seolfum“.

þonne bið þám ôðrum ungelíce villa gevorden; mágon veána tō fela geseón on him selfum. Crist 1264.

þy lās hi on þone foreþonc gefeón mōtan, þy he hy him sylfum sēllan þūhton englas oferhydige þonne ēce Crist. Hymn. und Gebete IV, 53.

3. *pers. accus.* „hi seolfe“.

þaer hi mehten hy sylfe āt hām við þeóvdōm beverian. Oros. III, 1 § 4.

Hā hy hi sylfe mid missenlīcan gefeohtum fordydon. Oros. III, 11 § 2. Romane þyllica bismara on hy sylfe asaedon. Oros. IV, 4 § 2. —

Dual.

No examples.

Possessive genitive.

I have shown above that the reflective possessive relation of the first and second persons can be expressed in Anglo-Saxon by means of the inflected pronominal adjectives „mīn, þīn“ etc., and that of the third person, either by means of the adjective „sīn“, or by means of the genitive of the inflected (geſcſcēdſtig) personal pronoun „his, hire, hira (heora)“. We have seen that to all personal pronouns, used in a reflective sense, „seolf“ can be added in order to reenforce the relation. Now, the fact is, that the above expressions which express a reflective possessive relation, are capable to undergo the same treatment if it is thought necessary to reenforce their reflective relation. Whilst, however, in the former case, the nature of „seolf“ is undoubtedly that of an adjective, the decision in the latter case is less easily made.

There can be no doubt, in my opinion, that in the reflective possessive relation of the third person „seolf“ must needs be considered as a pure adjective; the forms „sylfes, sylfre, sylfra“ are added by way of apposition to „his, hire, hira“, as we shall prove below by examples. We must, however, first consider „seolf“ in connexion with the pronominal adjectives „mīn, þīn“ etc., because a faint trace of a substantive use of „seolf“ may be discovered in these connexions. I distinguish here between three different constructions:

1) The genitive of the personal pronoun is put in place of

the possessive, i. e. the invariable genitive of „ic, þu“ etc. is put in place of the inflected forms „mīn, þīn“ etc. and „seolfes“ is added as apposition. To prove this construction which has escaped the notice of Grein (A. S. Biblioth. IV, 255), I quote the passage: þurh þīn sylfes gong (in place of „þīnne“) Crist 254, whilst passages like „mīn sylfes fōt“ (nom.) Ps. 93, 17, or „mīn sylfes gāst“ (nom) Ps. 142,7, can also belong to the second class (see below). „Seolfes“ is, likewise, added as apposition to nouns: godes selves stð. Höllenf. 52. Selves gesceapu heofoncyninges. Genes. 842, and to the genitive of a demonstrative pronoun: þurh þās sylfes hand, þe... Gespräch der Seele mit ihr. Leichn. 56. A genitive „sīn“, analogous to „mīn, þīn“ in this construction, I was unable to find; „sīn“ has entirely become an adjective.

2) The possessive remains in its form dependent on its substantive and „seolfes“ is added. With regard to the nature of „seolfes“ in this case, I am unable to acquire an elucidation. I presume it to be a genitive, used adverbially, of which we find so many instances in A. S. as well as in other Germanic idioms (cf. Koch, gram. II, 304. III, 5). For the occurrence of „seolfes“ used thus adverbially, I quote passages like: Ic þe selves dōm life, leófa. Genes. 1915 (I leave thee the choice). þonne vurdæð þīn eágan svá leóht þæt þu meahst svá víde ofer voruld ealle geseón síððan, and selves (even) stól herran þīnes. Genes. 566. cf. the German „selbst“ from the genitive „selbes“. An example of this rare construction we find Beóv. 2147: On mīnne selves dōm.

3) The possessive loses its formal dependence on the substantive and conforms to „seolfes“ by way of attraction. In this construction, a transition of „seolf“ to a substantive use is in my opinion very probable. On þīnes seolfes dōm, Sat. 685. Mīnes sylfes líc, Ps. 77,2. Mīnes sylfes mūd, Hymnen 4,5. On þīnes sylfes hand, Andreas, 1419. þurh þīnes sylfes geveald. Höllenf. 127. þurh þīnes sylfes soð, Ps. 88,42. þīnes sylfes gāst, Ps. 103,28. þīnes sylfes bearn, ibd. 131,12. Mīnes sylfes gebed, ibd. 140,2 etc.

The fact, that for the femin. sing. the forms „mīnre, þīnre seolfre“ are used, for instance: þīnre sylfre sunu, Crist. 339. Mīnre sylfre síð, Klage der Frau, 2 (and this permits us to guess at the plural forms „mīnra, þīnra seolfra“), this fact, I confess, speaks against our hypothesis. Still we find a new support for it in the occurrence of „sylfes“ also for the plural number. Mr. Mätzner (gram. II pg. 10) quotes the following example: And hæfdon ealles geveald ge heora ágenes sylfes on eallum þīngum. (S. Basil. pg. 24). To come here to a decision, seems difficult. Probably „seolf“ was in all these cases originally an adjective which is proved by the feminine forms „mīnre, þīnre sylfre“, but afterwards from the frequent use of the masculine forms „mīnes sylfes, þīnes sylfes“ a neutral substantive „sylf“ sprung into existence and gradually gained a larger propagation. At any rate, the above quoted passage is a certain proof of the occurrence of a substantive „sylf“. —

We have yet to give examples of the expression of the reflective possessive relation of the third person by means of the genitives „his, hire, hira“ in connection with „seolfes, seolfre, seolfra“:

Singul. masc. „his seolfes“.

þæt þam hālgan vās sār on mōde, ongan þā his selfes bearn vordum vyrgean. Genes. 1593.

He āð svered.... þurh his sylfes lif. Exod. 431.

Hafað vuldres bearn his seolfes seld sveglbefalden. Satan, 587.
Oft mæg se þe vile in his sylfes sefan sōð geþencan. Bī dōmes dāge 3.

Sōna me se maera mago Healfdenes.... við his sylfes sunu setl getaehte. Beóv. 2011.

Singul. femin. „hire seolfre“.

Hēt þā Hildeburh āt Hnāfes āde hire selfre sunu sveolode befastan. Beóv. 1115.

Elene ne volde.... þās vilgifan vord gehyrvan, hire sylfre suna. Elene 220.

(Elene) hire selfre suna sende to lāce ofer geofenes streām gife unscynde. Elene 1200.

Plural „hira seolfra“.

And þonne gesettan on hyra sylfra dōm vuldres vynlond. Bī manna mōde, 64.

Hy geseoð symle hyra sylfra cyning. Wunder der Schöpf. 93.

Vaeron Sodomisc cynn synnum þrīste, daedum gedvolene, drugon heora selfra ēcne unraed. Genes. 1935. („cynn“ used as a plural).

þæt hie ārleāse eft gecerdan to hiora selfra sāula hiorde. Psalm L (Cott.) 106. Gebede singende somod for heora sylfra ēcre haelo. Beda, lib I, 15.

C. Expression of the reflective relation by means of „seolf, self“, without a pronoun.

The third manner in which in Anglo-Saxon a reflective relation can be expressed, is by means of „seolf“ without a personal pronoun. This construction occurs rarely, mostly in such cases in which a possessive genitive comes in question; they are generally fixed expressions or settled phrases like: „sylfes villum, sylfes mihtum, sylfes dōme“ etc. This construction is, as a rule, especially employed in an emphatical sense (cf. II. part).

Examples.

Genitive.

Laeran, þæt hie lufan dryhtnes and sybbe svā same sylfra betveónum (inter se) freóndraedenne fāste gelaeston leahtor-leāse in hira lifes tīd. Elene 1206.

And (he) his torn gevrac on gesacum swiðe selves mihtum.
Genes. 59.

þæt hie feond heora þurh ānes crāft ealle ofercomon selves mihtum.
Beóv. 700.

þæt he beáhhordes brūcan mōste selves dōme. Beóv. 895.

þā ic on hlaeve gefrāgn hord reafian, eald enta geveorc, āne
mannan him on bearm hlanan bunan and discas sylfes
dōme. Beóv. 2773.

Geseoh nu seolfes swāðe (vestigium tuum). Andreas 1443.

þonan Beóvulf com sylfes crāfte. Beóv. 2360.

Forhvan þu þæt selegescot þurh firenlustas fūle synne
unsyfre bismite sylfes villum? Crist 1481.

Nealles mid geveoldum vyrmhorda crāft sōhte sylfes villum.
Beóv. 2223.

þe he ūsic on herge geceās tō þissum sīðfaste sylfes villum.
Beóv. 2638.

Sume þā vuniad on vēstennum, sēcað and gesittað sylfra villum
hāmas on heolstrum. Gūðlāc 52.

Eā lā ofermōdan! hvī eov ā lyste mid eovrum sviran selfra
villum þæt svaere gioc symle underlutan? Metra X, 18.

Dative.

þās līfes ic manige, þe þu mid leahtrum hafast ofslegen synlice
sylfum tō sconde. Crist 1479.

Oft heó tō bealve bearn āfēdeð selfre tō sorge. Salom. und
Sat. 372.

Se me vīdgalum vīsað hvīlum sylfum tō rice. Rāthsel 21,6.

Accusative.

And his þegnum sōð sigora frēa seolfne geyvde beorht on blaede.
Elene 487.

Hie (eam) se cāsere hēht gearvian sylfe tō sīðe. Elene 1000.

In this last passage, „sylfe“ can also belong to „hie“, because „gearvian“ is used also without a reflect. pronoun in A. S. in the sense of „to prepare“ (sich rüsten); for instance „hēt hie (eos) tō þam sīðe gyrvan“ Andreas 796. In that case „sylfe“ is used without any reflective relation at all. —

The reenforcing pronouns in the Anglo-Saxon language.

The adjective „seolf“ was used in Anglo-Saxon not only to form or to reenforce a reflective relation, but it was also used as reenforcement in other cases. It was added emphatically as apposition to nouns and pronouns, without a reflective sense at all.

It would be unnecessary for our purpose to consider this case, if we did not meet with the same practice in modern English and to some extent in Semi-Saxon and old English. In order to find an explanation for those reenforcing forms in the later stages of

the English language, where they are in appearance quite identical with the reflective forms, it is necessary to examine this practice first in Anglo-Saxon. With regard to the inflection of „seolf“ in this case, we find the definite inflection only in the nominative case of the singular number, and here it prevails; in all other cases the indefinite inflection alone is used. —

Examples.

Singular. Nominative (indefinite inflection).

Ic silf hit eóm. Luk. 24,39.

þam þe se þeoden self sceóp nihte naman. Genes. 139.

Ic vāt hvāt he me self bebeád, nergend āser, þā ic hine nēhst geseah. Genes. 535.

He his bryde ofslōh self mid sveorde. Metra IX, 31.

Nominative (definite inflection).

Svā ic him þisne bodscipe selfa secge. Genes. 553.

He him selfa sceáf reáf of līce. ibd. 1564.

Me gāste þīne, god, selfa getryme. Psalm L. (Cott.) 102.

þu eart selfa sigedryhten god. Metra XX, 260.

þu selfa eart sió fāste rest. Metra XX, 270.

Selfa ne dorste under yða gevyn aldre genēðan. Beóv. 1468
(with omission of the subject „he“).

Nele he þā earfeðu sylfa habban. Gen. 514.

Genitive.

Ongeat þā geómormōd godes sylfes sið. Höllenfahrt 52.

Selfes gesccapu heofoncyniges. Genes. 842.

For examples where „sylfes“ stands in connection with „mīn, þīn“, see pg. 18.

Dative.

Ic vāt þāt hit þohte þeodric Vidian selfum gesyllan. Valdere II, 5.

Āt gode sylfum. Reden der Seele an d. Leichn. 6.

Tō sylfum drihtne. Psalm 54,16.

Accusative.

Aer he haelend genom sylfne be siðan. Satan 545.

þāt hi god silfne āhēgon. Elene 209.

Synnig við seolfne sāvla nergend. Andr. 923.

Neuter.

On þāt dāgrēd sylf (just at break of day). Judith 204.

Plural. Nominative.

Ve besvican ūs sylfe. Höllenf. 96 (nom. or accus.).

þær him sylfe geseoð sorga maeste synfā men. Crist 1082.

Genitive.

þu Eve hāfst yfele gemearcod uncer sylfra sið. Genes. 791.

þurh ūre sylfra gevill. Crist 362.

Dative.

Svá him êðost bið, sylfum gesêftost. Elene 1295.

Accusative.

þāt þu lête Sâddene sylfe geveorðan gûde ymb Grendel. Beov. 1996.
þā (quos) him to gingran self metod mearcode selfa. Genes. 459.

The Anglo-Saxon language shows a great inclination to separate this reenforcing „seolf“ from the word to which it belongs by another word, especially by a pronoun, for instance:

þāt þu hie sylf vorhtest. Hymnen IX. 50.

þeah he hit self forsvige, Apol. of T. pg. 14.

þāt he his selfa ne mæg for his unsnyhtrum ende gepencean. Beov. 1733.

Ve þurh gifre môð besvican ûs sylfe. Hôllenf. 96.

He sunce vyrceð bið him sylfa fâder. Râthsel 38,8.

Forþam ve hit sylfe ne sâvon. Sax. Chron. 1106.

Nemnað (ge) hy sylfe. Râthsel 58,6.

A pronoun, suitable for this purpose is seldom wanting, because the Anglo-Saxon possesses a great number of verbs to which a reflective dative can be put; this dative may safely be called a pleonastic dative, in as much as its presence leaves the sense of the sentence nearly unaltered. This reflective or pleonastic dative, of which we shall have yet to speak more at large, is placed almost universally between „seolf“ and the word to which the latter belongs: „Ic me sylf, þu þe sylf, he him sylf“, and as this dative on account of its pleonastic nature forms no integral part of any other part of the sentence, it is quite natural that it gradually lost its original signification and became closely connected with „seolf“. I shall show below, how out of this combination of the datives „me, þe, him“ with „seolf“ in old English the reenforcing pronouns „myself, thyself, himself“ etc. were developed, whilst in A. S. this combination was quite loose and a mere external one.

The first of our modern grammarians who paid attention to this peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon language, but without trying to give an explanation nor apprehending its importance for the formation of the modern reenforcing pronouns, was Mr. Rask (A. S. grammar, transl. by Thorpe, p. 54). Mr. Fiedler (gram. I, 228) doubted the correctness of Mr. Rask's hypothesis and considered it to be contrary to the Anglo-Sax. idiom. Mr. Mätzner (II, 10 and 21) and Mr. Koch (II § 324), however, have understood it correctly. —

Examples.

Rask: Ic com me sylf tô eov. Älfr. N. T. p. 36.

Aer þu þe self hit me gerehtest. Boetius 5,1.

And þa circlican þeavas him sylf þaer getaehhte. Älfr. N. T. p. 33.

Mätzner: Ac volde beón him sylfon his sylfes anvealde.
S. Basil. p. 18.

And him sylf vās on heofenas farende. Evang. Nicod. 34.

And him sylf his rôde âbār. Homil. of the A. S. church II, 62.

(In these sentences the pronominal subject is to be supplied, as is often the case in Anglo-Saxon).

And he cydde hym sylf þæt gâstlice and git þære ealdan geset-
nysses his leorningcnihtum. S. Basil. p. 2.

Ac Pilatus þā on his dôm-erne him self âvrât ealle þā þing.
Ev. Nicod. 34.

Koch: Leorna þe seolfa and geþancmeta þine môde, on hvilce
healfe þu ville cyrran. Genes. 1916.

þæt þu þā beorhtan ūs sunnan onsende and þe sylf cyme. Crist 113.

On account of the great importance of this construction, I shall
add a number of examples which I have found myself:

Indefinite form.

þu þe self hafast daedum gefremed þæt þîn dôm lyfað âva tô
aldre. Beov. 953.

þu meaht nu þe self geseôn. Genes. 611.

Bidon ealle þær þegnas þrymfulle þeódnes gehâta in þære forhtan
byrig tyn niht þā gen, svā him sylf bibeád svegles âgend.
Crist 540. („him“ can be here dative plural and refer to
„þegnas“).

Nu ic me sylf ne mæg fore mīnum von-aehtum villan âdreágan.
Hymn. IV, 102.

And þu þe sylf eart soðfæst dēma. Hymn. VII, 37.

And þu þe sylf vunast svīde stille u nāvendendlīc â forð simle.
Metra XX, 16.

þā him tô gingran self metod mearcode selfa. Genes. 458 (a
remarkable passage; „seolf“ is put twice to „metod“ with
definite and indefinite inflection).

And þonne Burgenda land vās ūs on bāc-bord (left side of a
vessel) and þā habbað him sylf cýning. Orosius I, 1 § 20.

Gif his hvā sy lustfull mære tô vitanne, sēce him þonne sylf.
Oros. III, 2, 1.

þæt hy voldon of âlcere byrig him sylf anveald habban
Oros. III, 7 § 3.

þā ongeat Hannibal and him sylf saede.... Oros. IV, 10 § 2.

And (he) him sylf leat forð, þæt him man âslôh þæt heáfod of.
Oros. VI, 34, 2.

Rufinus volde habban him sylf þonne anveald þær eást. Oros.
VI, 37 § 2.

Odde hvet se cyng him sylf hæfde landes and orfes innan þam
lande. Sax. Chron. 1085.

And he sende of his mannan tô þisum lande and volde cuman
him sylf âfter. Saxon. Chron. 1088.

And þā heres him sylfe tō-eoden. ibd. 1016. (and the armies of themselves separated).

And eác him seolf þone pallium genamon sancti Petres weofode. ibid. 1022.

Definite form.

He him selfa sceáf reáf of lice. Genes. 1564.

Gā þe sylfa tō. Andreas 1350.

Feorcyððe beoð sêlran gesôhte þām þe him selfa deáh. Beóv. 1838.

Eart þe selfa þæt hêhste gôð. Metra XX, 45.

And him sylfa hāfð blaed and blisse and eác byrga geniht. Runenlied 8.

Plural.

And eác svā same ôðra gesceafta veorðað him selfe siððan tō nāuhte. Metra XI, 86.

Eall þiss mágon him sylfe geseón þonne open orgete. Crist 1116.

þā hī voldan him sylfe niman and hergian þær hī hit findan mihton. Beda, lib. I cap. 15. —

In a great number of other examples this reflective pleonastic dative is omitted, though it might be added without an essential change of the sense. This proves clearly of how little consequence this dative, in reality, was and how easily it could coalesce with „seolf“ into one word. Such examples are the following:

Ic mäg heonon geseón hvaer he sylf sited. Genes. (he him sylf, cf. and heo sät hire feorran, Genes. 21,16).

Nu sceal he sylf faran tō incre andsvare. Genes. 556 (he him sylf, cf. Genes. 543).

Hu þec heofenes cyning siðe gesêced and sylf cymed, Crist 62 (him sylf, cf. Crist 113: and he sylf cyme).

Nu þu sylfa cum. Crist 149 (þu þe sylfa).

Gevât him þā se hearda mid handscole sylf äfter sande saevong tredan. Beóv. 1963 (him sylf cf. Beóv. 1880: Him Beóvulfe gräsmoldan träd).

Svylce ic sylf geseah. Psalm 118, 159 (ic me sylf, cf. þu maht nu þe seolf geseón Genes. 611).

On heahsette sited self cyning. Metra XXIX, 75 (him self.) cf. Satan 218, 712. Also: Psalm L. (Cott.) 64, 66. Andreas 433. Gûðlâc 510 (cf. Hymnen IV, 102). —

PERIOD II.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORMS USED TO EXPRESS A REFLECTIVE RELATION IN THE STAGE OF TRANSITION TO THE MODERN USAGE.

Having thus laid down and illustrated the forms which were used in the Anglo-Saxon language in order to express a reflective relation, we have to follow their subsequent development down to the time in which they became finally fixed, that is to the era of Spenser and Shakespeare. This period which embraces nearly 500 years, has been subdivided in several ways. Mr. Madden, for instance, (Lazamon, preface, page VI) distinguishes four stages:

- 1) Semi-Saxon from 1100—1230
- 2) Early-English " 1230—1330
- 3) Middle-English " 1330—1500
- 4) Later-English " 1500—1600.

Mr. Mätzner (gram. I pg. 7,8) is of opinion that within this whole period no certain boundary-lines can be drawn. He denies that since the Norman conquest new distinguishing features appeared of such an essential importance as to demand a distinct division. Be this as it may, I think it to be the best plan for our investigation to make no subdivisions at all, but to follow the development of the reflective forms without interruption down to the Elisabethan era.

Of the three different ways which were used to express a reflective relation in Anglo-Saxon, the third disappears entirely, that is, the use of „seolf“ without a pronoun. The other two continue to exist with this modification that the use of the personal pronouns without „seolf“ succumbs gradually to the use of the pronouns compounded with „seolf“.

A. Expression of the reflective relation by means of the simple personal pronouns.

Before we can proceed to examine this way of expressing the reflective relation, I deem it to be necessary to speak first of the organic changes which the personal pronouns themselves underwent. In the first and second persons we find only few mutations of the forms. The Anglo-Sax. forms „mec, þec, ðsic, eóvic“, which at all times were of rare occurrence, disappear entirely and are replaced by the dative forms „me, þe, ðs, eóv“. The vowel-sound in „ðs“, which in Anglo-Saxon must have been a long one, because the consonant „n“ had been given up, changes into a short one „us“ in Semi-Sax. and Old-English. Orm writes constantly „uss“, whilst he indicates a long vowel-sound by writing the succeeding consonant simple: ful (foul), sur (sour), ure (our), dun (down), tun (town), hus (house), ut (out).

In Lazamon the orthography is unsettled. The earlier manuscript (A) has almost constantly „us“, rarely „ous“, whilst in the younger manuscript (B) just the reverse is the rule. We find „ous“ also in the „Aȝenbite of Inwit“ and in the poem „Thomas a Beket“, otherwise „us“ is always used. I think it, therefore, safe to conclude that at all times beside the simple form „ûs“ another form was in use in which the long „u“ was, in conformity with the general rule, changed into the diphthong „ou“, and which was afterwards entirely supplanted by the form with the short vowel. Other examples of this attenuation offer the forms: but (= A. S. būtan), utmost (= A. S. ūtemest), could (= A. S. cūde), suck (= A. S. sūgan), husband (= A. S. hūs-buende), southern (= A. S. sūderne) etc.

„Eōv“ is preserved in Lazamon, especially in Laȝ. A., under the form „eow and eou“; but already in Laȝ. A we find also the form „ȝeow“ and in Laȝ. B „ȝou“ and by apheresis of „e“: „ow and ou“. Orm uses the form „ȝuw“. The form „ou“ is also found in the Ancren Riwe, but in all other monuments the forms „ȝou, you, yhou“ are the rule. Mr. Koch (gram I, 61) wants to explain the form „ȝeow“ through the influence of the nominative „ȝe“. Regarding the transition of „eo“ into „ȝo“, we may compare the obsolete „yeod (= eode), York (= Eoforvic“; and already in Anglo-Saxon „Jofor (Beóv. 2993, 2997) and Eofor (Beóv. 2486)“. —

Of much greater consequence are the mutations which the third person of the personal pronoun underwent during this period. In pronouns no less than in nouns the blending of the oblique cases is in full progress; in the singular (masc. and femin.) as well as in the plural number, the dative usurps the place of the accusative, whilst in the singul. number of the neuter the reverse practice becomes the rule. The first examples of this innovation are met with in the first part of the Saxon-Chronicle, written before the Norman invasion. In the latter part which belongs already to the Semi-Saxon period, they gradually increase, especially since the beginning of the 12. century.

„Him“ instead of „hine“.

Already 1036 (Sax. Chron. Mscr. Bodl. Laud. 636 and Cott. Domit. A VIII):

And Leófric eorl and maest ealle þā þegenas be norðan Temese and þā liðsmen on Lunden gecuron Harold tō healdes ealles Englandes, him and brōðer Hardacnute.

And lēt him findan mete and fodder 1075.

Forþan þe his fāder ne volde him laetan valdan his eorl-dōmes. 1079.

Ac vāder him lātte (hindered him) 1114.

And brōhten him tōforen se kyng. 1123.

And þeonon he sende him. 1126.

He sende him tō Engaland. 1128.

And brōhten him.... setten him on þes abbotes settle... 1131.

And dide him gyven up þone abbotrice of Burh. 1132.

And hālechede him tō kinge. 1135.

And pīneden him... and him on rōde hēngen.... and sythen
byrieden him. 1137.

And te king fōr þīder and besätte him. 1140.

And he helde him for fader and he him for sune. 1140.

„Hire“ instead of „hi, heo“.

And send hire siddēn tō Normandī. 1127.

And te Lundenisce folc hire volde taecen. 1140.

And brōhten hire into Oxenford. 1140.

„Heom (him, hem)“ instead of „hig, hi“.

þā kīdde man þan kyninge, þāt þāt folk. be nordan hāfdon
heom gegaderad tō-gādere. 1067.

And fuhton vid hem and āflēmden hem (eos fugaverunt) 1124.

And brōhton hem tō þone kinge. 1124.

And diden heom in prisun... and pīned heom untellendlice
pīning 1137.

Me henced up bi the fēt and smōked heom mid fūl smōke. 1137.

Hi diden heom in quarterne (= prisun)..... and drāpen heom
svā. 1137.

And brōhte heom.... 1137.

And dide heom cumen þider (fecit ut venirent) 1140.

We see in all the quoted passages the dative take the place
of the accusative, perhaps on account of the fuller forms. Examples
of the reverse practice are very rare:

„hine“ instead of „him“.

And ealle hine iafen mīcele gife and maere. Sax. Chron. 1125.

And iaf hine þone eorldōm. ibd. 1127. —

Lazamon A (written in the beginning of the 13. century) makes
a strict distinction between the accusat. „hine“ and the dative
„him“, whilst La3. B (written about 1250) mostly writes him in
both cases, rarely „hine“ (ine) in the accusative. These seem to
be the last traces of „hine“, for the Ormulum and the Ancren
Riwle (both composed about the year 1200) and the Sermons (cf.
Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben* II, 41) know only „himm, him“
in both cases; all monuments of a later date follow of course the
same rule.

The forms of the accusat. femin. „hi, hió“ begin already in
the Sax. Chron., as I have shown, to be superseded by the dative
„hire“. In Semi-Saxon the accusative form is only occasionally
met with in La3. A, „hire“ is already the usual form. La3. B,
Ancren Riwle, Orm., Rob. of Gloucester's Chronicle know only the
form „hire“, which in Robert Manning and others is already
shortened into „hir“. —

For the singul. of the neuter gender the A. S. had the forms:
dat. „him“, acc. „hit, hyt“. Here again the language of Lazamon
is the most ancient: both manuscripts have the A. S. forms.

Orm distinguishes also between the dat. and accus., but he drops the „h“ in „hit“ (dat. himm, acc. itt).

The later monuments preserve mostly the difference between „him and hit, it“, but we find also that both forms are used promiscuously. The use of „hit, it“ as dative became, however, gradually predominant. In Richard Rolle de Hampole and in Maundeville we find yet both forms „him and hit“ for the dative case. In the poem „The land of Cokaygne (Mätzner I, 148 v. 4) we find also the dative „hit“.

„To don it worschipe and reverence“. Maundeville (ed. Halliwell pg. 165).

„And there is a lampe, and it gothe out be himself and lyghtith be himself“. Maundeville (Mätzner Sprachpr. II 190,28).

The dative „him“ as accusative is rarely found: „It receyvet into him 40 othere ryvers“, Maundeville pg. 7.

Chaucer only knows „hit, it“ for both cases. —

With regard to the h in „hit“, the orthography of the entire period is very unsettled. Sometimes „hit“ and „it“ are found in one and the same author. „It“ occurs already in the Saxon-Chronicle:

Vaer it tveolf monð oððe maere. S.-Chr. 1128.

Als it ware. ibd. 1135.

Ac he tōdēld it (scil. his tresor) 1137.

For he wart it rar. 1140.

And it ne forstōd nāht. 1140.

„Itt“ is the only form used in the Ormulum. One might be induced to consider „it“ as derived from the Old Norse, but in this dialect „itt, it“ is only used as demonstrative pronoun in the sense of „that, jener“ and also as article, but never as personal pronoun. My opinion is that the form „it“ is derived from „hit“, simply by means of the dropping of the letter h, an operation facilitated through the influence of the Norman French. As a proof I mention the fact that we also find „is“ instead of „his“: cf. Mätzner, Sprachpr. II, 85, 18. 91, 3. I, 152 v. 168. 308 v. 160. And again „ine“ instead of „hine“ in La3. B. „adde“ instead of „hadde“ (þe þe king adde beteht Evorwíc, Sax. Chr. 1138), „arm“ instead of „harm“ in „Sevyn Sages“ v. 852, and in Weber „Metric“ Romances vol. III. In the same manner we can account for the form „a“ instead of the A. S. „he, heo, hii“ (cf. Mätzner, Old Engl. diction. p. 1^a) and „a“ as abbreviation of the Imperat. and Infin. of „haven“ (cf. ibd.). In some instances we find also the reverse, that is, the addition of h, for instance: han (= one) (Mätzner, Sprachpr. II, 241, 15. 242, 4); heten (= eten) ibd. I, 69 v. 537; harrke (= A. S. carc, earce, lat. arca) ibd. II, 242, 7; „hache“ and „ache, ake“ (mod. Engl. ake = A. S. ace, æce, ece; cf. Mätzner, O. Engl. diction. 13^b) cf. Mätzner, grammar I, 187. Whilst in most cases the mutilated forms disappeared again and the aspirated original forms became predominant, we find that the mutilated form „it“ became gradually the ruling one. —

For the plural number we have in Anglo-Saxon the forms: dat. „him, heom“, accus. „hi, hig, heo“. Already in *Lazamon* the accusat. forms have entirely disappeared and the dative forms alone are used. In *La3. A* we find the forms „heom, hom, hem“; in *La3. B* mostly „3am“, rarely „heom, ham, hem“. In „3am“ we encounter the same process of which we have spoken above with regard to „3ow = eóv“; in „3am“ moreover we find again the dropping of „h“. The formation of „hom, hem“ out of „heom“ can easily be explained through the suppression or attenuation of either the first or the second of the two vowel-sounds, of which the diphthong „eo“ is composed. „Ham“ seems to be a mere change from the closer vowel-sound „hom“ to one more open. The *Orm.* has for the dative and acc. the form „hemm“ and also „þe33m“; the latter form shows us that the demonstrative pronoun: singul. „se, seo, þāt“, plur. „þā“, genit. „þāra, þaera“, dat. „þām, þaem“ was used as a personal pronoun. *Orm.* uses also the nomin. form „þe33“ and the genitive „þe33re = heora. To explain this usage, we need not look for an influence of the old Norse dialect, as some grammarians have done; the materials of the Anglo-Saxon idiom are quite sufficient to furnish a satisfactory explanation. The first example of this usage is found already in the *Saxon Chronicle*, where in one place the genit. plur. „þaere“ is put in place of the possessive genit. „heora“: þā hvīlc þe þā munecas sungeþ þaere messe, *S. Chron.* 1122. Perhaps the reading of the manuscripts: þāt þā gōðan men niman āfter þeora (sic!) gōðnesse *S. Chr.* 1087, where *Thorpe* writes „heora“ instead of „þeora“, can be justified hereby. In the greater part of the monuments we find the forms „hem, ham“: *Ancren Riwe*, *Bestiary*, *Genesis* and *Exodus*, *A. Sarman*, *Azenbite of Inwit*, *Land of Cocayne*, *Th. A. Beket*, *R. of Gloucester*, *Chronicle*, *Sevyn Sages*, *Maundeville*, *Prov. of Hending*, *Piers Ploughman*, *Wicliffe*, *J. Gower* and *Chaucer*. But the North English writers: *R. Rolle de Hampole* (*Pricke of Conscience*) from *Yorkshire*, *Robert Brunne* from *Lincolnshire*, *Laur. Minot* from *Northumberland*, and especially the Scotch authors; *Barbour* and *Will. Dunbar* use „þaim, þam“ exclusively. The form „hem“ is preserved in the modern familiar language as an abbreviated form „em“ (cf. *Mätzner*, *gram.* I, 312), whilst otherwise „them“ has become the ruling one since the *Elisabethan* era. In this case we cannot but acknowledge an influence of the Northern dialects which was facilitated by the general use of the nominative „þai“.

With regard to the Dual, we notice that the *A. S.* forms „uncit, incit“ give way to the dative forms „unc, inc“. We find these in *Lazamon A* in the shape of (1. pers.) „unke, unc“ (2. pers.) „inc“, and in the *Orm.* as „unnc“ and „3unnc“. To explain the latter form seems rather difficult, in as much as we ought to expect the form „innc“. Perhaps the other plural forms „3ure, 3uw“ have exercised here some influence; at any rate we cannot admit an influence of the old Norse idiom, because the Norse form „ykkir“ would not justify the form „3unnc“. —

Examples.

Singular. Dat. „me“.

I drede me. P. Ploughman, 5337.

Acc. „me“.

And til the, lemman, tac I me. Metr. Hom. M. I 281,10.*)

I schall streng then me ther-to. D. Siriz M. I, 170.

Hu ich scal me laeden. La3. 16015.

I sschall kepe me fram kare. S. Sages M. I, 2161.

Plural dat. „us“, accus. „us“.

batt uss birrþ well uss gemenn. Orm. 4179.

We schewenn us. Serm. ag. Mir.-Plays. M. II, 242,18.

And for þi hit is riht þat we fortleten and forsaken nihtliche deden and scruden us mit wapnen of lihte. Sermons 48,19, M. II.

„ous“: þis heste ous amonestep þet we ous loky. M. II A3enb. of Inv. 64,14.

To the we come to mene ous of wrechede. Th. a Bek. 1282.

Sing. dat. „þe“, acc. „þe“.

Wend te awei. M. II, Ancr. Riw. 11,4.

(„te instead of „þe“ on account of the preceding „d“). Hie þe. ibd. 32,11.

ʒif þu wult þe awraken. La3. A 14464.

Wend þe hider. ibd. 24178.

And fus þe to þam feonde. ibd. 25792.

And þou sall besyly and gladly ocupye þe in sume bodily ocupacione. R. Rolle de H. 140,4, M. II.

Plur. dat. „eow, eou“ etc., acc. „eow, eou“ etc.

Off all hu ʒuw birrþ ledenn ʒuw . . . Orm. 938.

Annd ʒuw birrþ swiþe bliþeliʒ ʒuw turrnenn till his lare. Orm. 942.

Off all hu ʒuw birrþ ledenn ʒuw annd lefenn uppo Criste. Orm. 9009.

Bi-ðenched eow. La3. A 7893.

Nimed eoure sexes, sele mines bernes, and ohtliche eou sturied and naenne ne sparied. La3. A 15254 (B: and hahtliche ʒou storied).

Wreked eow. La3. A 15052. B: weried ou.

ʒe schulen asunien ou. Anc. R. 16,7, M. II.

(About „asunien“ cf. Mätzner old English diction. 120^b fin.)

Awrekeþ ʒou of this luþer men. R. of Gl. Chr. pg. 136.

Singular dat. „him“.

He gon him to fleonne. La3. 17351.

He sät him stille. ibd. 17906.

Ut him gon ride. ibd. 17097.

*) Where „M. I or M. II“ are added, the quoted passages are taken from Mätzner's *Altenglische Sprachproben* I and II.

þus him ispac Octa. A: 19504. B: þus spac O.
 Forþatt he an brid himm wollde chesenn. Orm. 14158.
 He sett himm aenes onn an munnt. ibd. 5374.
 Up stod him Judas. Jud. 27, M. I.
 Fort hym com the riche Jeu. ibd. 18.
 In him com ur Lord . . . ibd. 24.
 A privec smyþþe bi his celle he gan him biseo. St. Dunstan 172
 v. 60, M. I.

Accus. „him“ (La3. A „hine“).

þe king hine bi-pohte. La3. A 14005.
 And þe king wes mild-heorte and heold hine stille. ibd. 16814.
 B: shows a blank.
 Mi gast hine iwarded and wird stille. La3. A 17137.
 Uther droh hine abac. ibd. 17424. (B. a blank).
 And awrondede him. La3. B 15972.
 He sahh þe Laferrd neh3hen himm. Orm. 12676.
 He wrappeþþ himm. Orm. 15836.
 He mende him. Anc. R. 15,16, M. II.
 He ne beþengþ him. A3enb. of J. 75,2. M. II.
 He enforssede hym. R. R. de H. 123,5, M. II.
 Uf he righted him. Bestiary 61,152, M. I.

Femin. dat. „hire“, *acc.* „hire, hir“.

Heo unwreih hire. Anc. R. 12,8, M. II.
 Scho laid hire besyde me. R. R. de H. 125,10, M. II.
 Heo nom hire to raede. La3. A and B 14926.
 Where 3ho wol pilt hir to. Fall and Passion 126 v. 58, M. I.
 Where our Lady rested hire. Maund. 187,12, M. II.

Neutr. acc. „it“.

Ffor when a saule offirs it to Ihesu trewly. R. R. de H. 136,23, M. II.

Plural dat. „heom, 3am, hom, hem, ham, þam,
 þe33m, paim.

Eoden heom to raede. La3. A 30188. (B. is wanting.)
 Cumen heom to-somne mid saehte and mid sibbe. La3. A 15186,
 (wanting in B).
 And raesden heom to-gaedere mid rahzere strengde. ibd. 23484.
 (B: 3am).

Accusativ Plur. (same forms).

And þer swide vaste biclusen heom in ane castle. La3. A 15024.
 (B: 3am).
 And wereden heom mid stanen. ibd. A. and B. 15286.
 And hehte his cnihtes wepni heom for þrihtes. La3. B 18024.
 (A: to wepne fordrihtes).
 He and Borel þe eorlriche buzen heom to-gaederes. La3. A 26951.
 (B: wende 3am).
 And menden heom to Pandan. A 31481. (B: and menden to
 þan . . .)

The³³ baþe hemm hiddenn sone anan unnderr fctrewwes laefess.
Orm. 13737.

Heo dude unwrien ham. Anc. R. 13,6, M. II.

Hou hi ssolle hamzelve ssriue and maki ham klene. Azenb.
of J. 61,6, M. II.

Thei assemblen hem. Maund. 180,4, M. II.

He warmen hem well. Best. 69 v. 537, M. I.

And bad hem rapen hem homward swiðe. Genes. and Exod. 86
v. 2376, M. I.

The Romaines gadered hem. 7. Sages 255 v. 2016, M. I.

Thei warmeden hem. Wiclyffe, St. John 18,18.

Men and wommen gadred hem togydres. Trevisa 352,1, M. I.

Thus es it of thaym that turnes þam to Godes seruys. R. R. de
H. 127,20, M. II.

Thai wald have mend tham at thaire might. Laur. Minot I, 29, M. I.

The Scott is men sa well thaim bar. Barbour, book IX, 202.

And thai thaim yauld forowtyn debate. ibd. book IX 634.

Dual accusat.

Swa þatt 3itt baþe ledenn 3unnc clennlike 3unnc bitwenenn.
Orm. 6206.

þatt tu nan oþerr mannes wif ne 3eorne nohht to ne3henn
wiþþ unnclaenesses fulle lusst to flenn swa 3unnc baþe.
Orm. 4490.

þaer hatesst tu 3unnc baþe, þurh þat tu dosst 3unnc baþe þaer
to gilltenn Godd onn3aeness. Orm. 5146.

(It must be observed that in the two last examples the activity
of the verb refers not to the subject alone, but also to a second
person; the reflective relation is therefore not quite exact: thou—
you both).

Reflective possessive relation. -

We have seen that in Anglo-Saxon this relation was expressed
by means of the possessive „sin“ and principally by means of the
genitives of the inflected pronoun: „his, hire, his, heora“. „Sin“,
which at all times was already very rare in A. S., disappears
entirely in Semi-Saxon.

The forms „his, hire, his, heora“ remain extant and serve
alone to express a reflective possessive, as well as any other pos-
sessive relation. Their genitive nature became, however, gradually
lost, and they were treated in the same manner as „min, þin“,
that is, they were inflected as genuine possessive pronouns.

The first examples of the inflection of those genitive forms
we find in the latter part of the Saxon-Chronicle. „His“ takes as
plural termination an „e“:

þa sône þaeræfter sende se kyng hise write ofer eal Englalande
and bed hise biscopes and hise abbates and hise
þeignes ealle S. Chron. 1123.

And veax þa micel unfrið betwix him and hise þeignas. 1123.

And þā ôðre he sende norð and sūð tō hise casteles. 1124.

I also found one example of the inflection of „heora“:
ôððet þā tvegen cyngas innan Normandige mid heora n folcan
coman togādere. 1119. —

In Laȝamon „his“ remains uninflected, but in the Ormulum we find the plural „hise“:

Annd sennde siþþenn Haliȝ Gast till hise Lerninngcnihhtess.
Orm. Ded. 235.

þurh hise gode dedess. Orm. Introd. 60.

To ȝarrkenn hise weȝzess. ibd. 96 = Hom. 176.

To ringenn hise belles. Orm. Hom. 933.

Inn hise limess alle. ibd. 16303 and 16309.

þurh hise lape willess. ibd. 11454.

Orm. Introd. 15 we find the passage: „He braec onnȝaen Drihtin all hise þannkess“; here „hise þannkess“ is apparently a genitive, but perhaps the expression „hise þannkess“ was considered as a plural cf. also Orm. Hom. 3970, 6248, 11457. —

This plural form „hise“ is found also at a later period, but it seems not to have gained a large propagation; Mätzner, gram. I, 316 quotes the following examples:

Clepede an of hise men. Leg. of St. Kath. 406.

Ure lauerd þat nute nawt þat hise icorene beonwidūte mede her
(Hali Meidenhead pg. 7). Un þonc hise teð (pg. 47). To
kissen hise bulles. P. Ploughm. 146.

And as substantive: For hym and for alle hise. (P. Pl. 8533). —

The femin. form „hire“ has always remained uninflected, because a new plural termination „e“ could not be added; with regard to the passage in Laȝ. A, 5076: „hires leores“, whilst Laȝ. B has: „hire leores“, I quite agree with Mr. Koch, gram. I 473, that „hires“ is a mere mistake in writing. The genit. plur. „heore, here“ remains also uninflected, on account of the termination „e“; we find, however, once in Laȝ. A 4189: „Alse we of heoren weoren“, a parallel to the above quoted passage from the Saxon-Chronicle, 1119.

Beside the forms, „hem, ham“, we find also „þaim, þam“; likewise we find beside „heore“ the forms „þeȝȝre“ (Orm.) and „þair, þare, þer (A. S. = þæra, þāra); and as in the English book-language „them“ became the ruling form, so here „their“. The fem. „hire“ is abridged in the later monuments to „hir, her“, and „þeȝȝre“ to „þair, þer“, modern Engl. „their“ cf. Mätzner, gram. I, 316.

The standing form for the neuter is during this entire period „his“; Spenser uses it yet exclusively. In the later dramas of Shakespeare „his“ begins to be superseded by „its“ („it“ with the genitive termination „s“ (it's). We find, however, the form „its“ in the entire dramas of Shakespeare only some 13 or 14 times. cf. Schmidt, Shak. Diction. I pg. 540 b and 601 b; Abbot, Shakesp. gram. § 228. —

B. Expression of the reflective relation by means of the personal pronouns connected with „self“.

Already in Semi-Saxon, but principally since the close of the 13. century, we find for the oblique cases of the first and second persons double forms, which can be traced down to the close of the 15. century. These double forms have always been the most difficult point in the explanation of the modern reflective pronouns. In the latter part of the Saxon-Chronicle we find yet the A. S. forms; only the dative „selfum“ becomes attenuated to „sylfon“. The Ormulum has also the ancient forms, only we observe that „selfum“ and „selfne“ are blended in the form „selfenn“; occasionally the termination „enn“ is dropped entirely.

Examples.

Dative „me selfenn, me self“.

For ic amm i me selfenn wac annd full off untrumnesse.
Orm. 18328.

Dat. „þe selfenn, þe self“.

For ziff þu skapesst aniz mann þu skapesst firrst te selfenn.
Orm. 4469, („te“ instead of „þe“ on account of the preceding t).

All birrþ þe lufenn itt inn me all swa summ i þe selfenn.
Orm. 5076.

Off nan þing þatt tu mahht te self onn aniz wise rapenn.
Orm. 11987.

Accus. „me selfenn“.

And ec 3e witenn wel þatt icc 3uw off me selfenn sez3de.
Orm. 18348.

To cumenn fra þe lape gast all rihht intill me selfenn. Orm. 17160.

Accus. „þe selfenn“.

þu biddesst forr þe selfenn. Orm. 6155.

Do þe nu þurh þe selfenn dun. 11357.

Acc þatt tu þurh þe selfenn nohht.... ne mahht nohht habben eorþliz witt. 11989.

Once we find already in the Ormulum the dative „þi self“:
„Annd ziff þu cwennkesst i þi self“. 1288. —

In the earlier manuscript of Lazamon we find constantly the forms „me, þe“, only once „þi“; but in cases in which „seolf“ is added as a reinforcement to the subject, together with the pleonastic dative, we find „mi, þi“ more frequently. La3. B has only „mi, þi“. The Ancren Riwele has „me sulf, þe sulf“; the Owl and Nightingale (second part of the 13. century) has „mi, þi seolf“. All later monuments have with very few exceptions „mi, þi“; isolated examples of „me, þe“ may be put down as mere mistakes in writing. We are, therefore, permitted to conclude that the ancient forms

were predominant till about the year 1200, then the forms „mi, þi self“ commenced to gain ground, and after having been in use for some time along with the ancient forms, ended in superseding the latter entirely about the close of the 13. century. Together with the appearance of these new forms a decay in the inflection of „self“ becomes visible. In place of „selfenn“ in the *Orm.* and of „seolfan, seolfne, suluen“ in *La3. A*, we find already in the *Ancren Riwe* „sulf, sulf“, although the forms „me, þe“ are quite the rule in this latter monument. In *La3. B*, *Owl* and *Night*, and in all later monuments we have only the abbreviated forms „seolfe, selue, self, silf“. In places where nevertheless „silven, selven“ are met with, we are unable to discover certain rules, and must explain it as an arbitrary addition of the letter „n“. The entire period offers numerous examples of this practice: *Guest, History of Engl. rhymes II p. 111*, calls it „nunnation“, cf. *Madden, Pref. to La3. XXIX*.

The question is, how we shall account for those younger forms „mi, þi self“. With the opinions of our best grammarians with regard to this question, we have already become acquainted. There can be no doubt that they cannot be explained out of the ancient forms „me, þe seolven“ by means of a transmutation of the vowel-sound, for the long A. S. *ē* never changes into *i*. The only example which can be quoted for such a practice is „bi“ = A. S. *bē*, but nothing is thereby proved, in as much as we often find in A. S. the original form „bī“, and sometimes even „big“, from which forms the O. Engl. „bi“ and the modern Engl. „by“ take their origin. I think, the forms „mi, þi self“ must be explained out of a mere syntactical reason, which is quite plain in my opinion. Beside the possessive forms „mīn, þīn“ the abbreviated forms „mi, þi“ were also in use. At the time when „selfen“ ceased to be inflected, „seolue, seolf“ was regarded as a substantive; consequently, the abbreviated possessive forms „mi, þi“ were put in place of „me, þe“. The change of the original signification of „self“ is the more easily accounted for, if we consider that the first traces of the substantive use of „self“ are already found in *Anglo-Sax.* cf. page 18. The strongest support of this explanation I find in the mutation of the reenforcing forms „me, þe self“ into „mi, þi self“, a change which took place at the same time, but on an independent footing; see below. We have also to keep in view the fact, that „mi, þi“ in those days was most probably not yet pronounced like the diphthong in the modern „my, thy“; the difference between the vowel-sounds was, therefore, much less.

Examples.

1. *Pers. dat. sing.*

And ic he vulle þesne king laeden mid me seolfan. *La3. A* 827.
 B: mid mi seolue. cf. *La3.* 5623. 24007. 492, in which passages there is, however, no reflective but only a reenforcing relation.

Al so ich segge bi mi solve. Owl and N. 833. M. I.
 I may not of my self do any thing, Wicl. St. John 5,30.
 Bi leve of myselve. P. Ploughm. 10890.
 Of myself I telle this. J. Gower 505. M. I.

1. *pers. acc. sing.*

Her ich sette þe an hond me seoluen and mi kine-lond. La3.
 A. 2264 (B: mi seolfen). Without a refl. relation cf. La3.
 20833 („me seoluen“ in A and „mi seolue“ in B) 8333
 (A. me seolfne and B. mi seolue),
 For serewe mon ich wakese wod other miselve quelle. Dame
 Sir. 183. M. I.
 Ich hevede i-thout miself to slo. ibd. 184.
 ȝif I glorifie myself. Wicl. St. John 8,54.
 And I schal schewe to hym myself. ibd. 14,21.
 And clene y have kept myselfe fro alle lustis. Serm. ag. Mir.
 Plays 232,1. M. II.
 It is bet for me to sle myself. Chauc. C. T. 11735.
 Or I know myselfen folse. Chauc. ibd. 11674.
 I murdris my selfin. W. Dunbar, edit. Laing 2 vol. Edinb.
 1834, I. 68,212.

2. *pers. dat. sing.*

Swa þu woldest mid ferde faren to þissen eaerde and don þe
 seoluen bisemar. La3. A 5051 (B. þi silue).
 Ah þenc of þe seoluen. La3. A. 17939. (B. Ah þench ou þou
 miht þi seolf þine kinedom werie).
 Now with thi selve thouȝ art for-lorn. Deb. of the B. and the
 S. 64. M. I.
 And also after thou hase ressayude grace of þe mercy of oure
 Lorde Godd for to hafe sumwhate knawynge of thiselfe.
 R. R. de H. 138,11. M. II.
 Put tham unto thi selfe. ibd. 142,3.
 But, without a refl. relation: „By theselve“ 149,2, erroneously
 without doubt.
 The wikkednesse shal worthe upon thiselve. P. Ploughm. 11120.
 Help now thiselve. P. Pl. 12182.
 What seist thou of thiself. J. Wicl. St. John 1,22.
 Without guid Lyfe all in the self dois dé W. Dunbar I. 236,39.
 That every syn be the selfe be schawin. ibd. I. 225, 13.
 I think these last two passages are of but little account; in as
 much as the orthography of Dunbar is thoroughly corrupted.

2. *pers. acc. sing.*

Fonde þi seoluen. La3. A. 17899, and B: fonde þi seolue.

Here the earlier M. S. has also the younger form; but I think
 this passage to be a corruption, because the possess. „þi“ does not
 agree with „seoluen“ which is inflected as an adjective.

ȝif þu ne knowest þe sulf. Anc. Riwle 32,27. M. II.

þi lond folk we schulle slon.... and þe selue riȝt anon. King
Horn, 45. M. I.

But: schewe thiself to the worlde. Wicl. St. John 7,4.

Whom makist thou thi self. ibd. 8,53.

Thou makist thiself God. ibd. 10,33.

Knowe thyself. I. Trevisa 368,19 M. II.

Als trubill nevir thyself. Dunbar I, 179,6.

Whilst in the singular number of the first and second persons the transmutation of the oblique case of the personal pronouns into the possessives was early and easily achieved on account of the similarity of the vowel-sounds, we find that in the plural number of the two first persons this transition took place at a much later period. The reason was probably the difference of sound between the oblique cases of the personal pronouns and the possessives (us, ous — ure, oure; eow, eou, ȝou — ȝure, ȝoure); perhaps the difficulty people had in apprehending a plurality of the newly created abstract substantive „self“, was also of some import. The consequence is that we find in all monuments of the 13. century exclusively the forms: „us sellfenn, us seoluen, us seolve, ous seolve“ for the dat. and accus. of the first person. The forms „ȝuw sellfenn, eow seoluen, ȝou seolue, ou suluen, ou sulf“ for both cases of the second person are found exclusively in Laȝ. A and B, Orm., Anc. Riwle and in the Deb. of the B. and S. (2. part of the 13. cent.) We must here observe that „selfen“ is used also for the acc. plur., instead of „selve, self“; „selfen“ (A. S. *seolfum*) is only justifiable in the dat. plur. — About the time between 1330—1370 the younger forms with the possessives „our, ȝour“ make their appearance; first in the translation of the French chronicle of Peter Langtoft by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, which was finished in 1338. A little later we find those new forms in the prose treatises of R. R. de Hampole († 1349), whilst we only find „us silf“ in the Sermon against Mir. Plays (1360—70.) In the vision of Piers Pl. and in the different manuscripts of the translation of the bible by Wiclyffe (1380) both forms are used promiscuously. In the poem „Sir Gawayne“, composed during the reign of Richard II (1377—99), the new forms prevail, also in Gower, Chaucer and Dunbar († 1520).

The earliest examples of those new forms are somewhat uncertain, in as much as the manuscripts are often much younger than the originals and as we have nothing to warn us of any arbitrary alterations made by the copiers. At any rate, I doubt very much, whether the form „oure self“ in Rob. of Glouc. Chronicle, which occurs only once, be genuine, because this poem, although composed about the year 1300, is printed from a M. S. of the 15. century (cf. Mätzner, Sprachpr. I, 155).

The mutation of the forms in the plural number must be explained through the influence of „miself, þiself“, which forms must have been already firmly established in the middle of the 14. century, otherwise they could not have exercised such a powerful

influence. This quite agrees with the result of our investigation about „mi, þi self“ pg. 35.

Examples.

1. *pers. plur. dat.*

Uss birrþ laetenn unnorreliȝ aund litell off uss sellfenn. Orm. 7525.
 Settynge less by us silf as we knowen mo synnes of us silf than
 of any other. Serm. ag. Mir. Pl. (1360) 242, 17, M. II.
 þat God us wolde sende, þat beþ hire bi oure self R. of
 Gl. chron. I, 46 (this passage must be considered as a
 corruption from „us silf“, cf. pg. 37).

þat if þou me mot mete bi our seluen tuo. R. of Mannyng's
 transl. of P. Langtoft's Chronicle, ed. Hearne, Oxf. 1725
 vol. I p. 196.

Pacience and and I seten bi oureselve at the side borde. P. Pl. 8095.

1. *pers. plur. accus.*

þatt uss ne birrþ uss sellfenn nohht þurh modiznesse shaewenn.
 Orm. 12970.

Greine we us seoluen mid grimme oure raesen. La3. A 5199
 (B: Grenne we us seolue).

þat we mazen mid fehte fondien us seolue. La3. A 26291
 (B: fondi ous seolue).

Sithin we ne mouwen us sulven schrive, Deb. of the B. and S.
 v. 351, M. I.

He scheweth us by ensamples usselve to wisse. P. Pl. 4748
 (after the year 1362). cf. P. Pl. 8095, where he uses
 „oureselve“.

If we say, that we hafe no syne, we begile ourselfe. R. R. de
 Hamp. 151,13, M. II.

2. *pers. plur. dat.*

Vor ȝe schulden wenen, þet God uor ouwer holi liue sende ou
 his grace and his elne, and leten wel of ou silf. Anc.
 Riwe 36,2, M. II.

þaȝ ȝe ȝour-self be talenttyf to take hit to ȝourseluen. Sir
 Gaw. v. 350.

Now chese yourselven (singul.) whether that you liketh. Chaucer
 6809 Cant. Tales. Cheseth yourself (singul.) which may be
 most plesance. Chauc. 6814 C. T.

To win your self ane bettir name. W. Dunbar I 98,42.

2. *pers. plur. accus.*

Veried eow seoluen. La3. A (veried ȝou seolue in La3. B) 12513.
 O none wise ne muwe ȝe betere sauuen ou suluen. Anc. Riwe 32,5,
 M. II.

Ye kouthe noght rule yow selve. Piers Pl. v. 399.

For I have saved yowself and your sonnes. ibd. 11049.

But: How ye shul save yourself. ibd. 956.

Wher 3ee demen not anentis 3ou self, Wiclyffe, Jam. II, 4, where four younger versions read „youre silf“.

Why make ye yourself for to be like a fool. Chaucer 378 ed. Tyrwh. Tale of Mel.

As soon as the oblique cases in the plural number of the personal pronouns were changed into the possessive pronouns, and „self“ in consequence had become a substantive, nothing is more natural than to expect that „self“ ought to receive an inflection in the plural number. But such an inflection cannot be found during this whole period, for the termination „en“ is of too vague a nature to be considered as the sign of a plural, cf. pg. 35. We meet, therefore, with no such difference, as is made for instance in the modern English between „ourself“ and „ourselves“, „yourself“ and „yourselves“, where „ourself“ is used as a plural majest. and „yourself“ in accosting a single person. The first examples of the modern plural termination „es“ I found in the poems of W. Dunbar (1460—1520): „But soberly our sellfis dois sustene“ II, 10,221 („The freiris of Berwick“, a song imputed to Dunbar). But we read also: „To win your self ane bettir name“ I, 98,42, where the „taylouris“ and „soutteris“ are meant. If these examples be correct, we are allowed to conclude that the formation of the modern plural had commenced, but had not yet been firmly established in the beginning of the 16. century. The last examples of „self“ in the plural number are yet found in Shakespeare.

With regard to the third person masc. sing., we have seen above cf. p. 27, that „him“ has usurped the place of „hine“; La3. A is the only monument in which a distinction is made between „him“ and „hine“. The same can be said of those cases, in which „selfne, selven“ (A. S. selfum and selfne) are added. „Hine selfne“ for the accus. is also only found in La3. A, whilst the contemporary monument „Orm., Anc. Riw. and the Sermons“ have already „him selven“ for both cases; the inflection „en, ne“ in „selven, selfne“ is preserved throughout. In the later monuments this inflection gradually disappears; the termination „en“ at Chaucer's time is only a habit of nunnation. cf. pg. 35.

The femin. accusative forms „hi, hig, heo“ disappear entirely cf. pg. 27, and the dative „hire“ is used instead. „Self“ added to „hire“ gives the forms „hire sellfenn, hire selue, hire self, himself, herself“.

„Self“ connected with the neuter „hit, it“ (cf. pg. 28) gives „hit selfe, himself, it selfe, itself.“

In the plural of the third person „selfen, selfe, self“ are added to „heom, 3am, hom, ham, hem“ or in the northern monuments to „þaim, þam“. cf. pg. 29.

In the third person „self“ preserves, therefore, the original character of an adjective; the femin. forms „hireself, herself, herself“ admit also the interpretation of „self“ as a substantive, because in „hire“ the possessive pronoun and the oblique case of the

personal pronoun have one and the same form. There can be, however, no doubt that the historical development of „hireself“ must be explained by the compounding of the adjective „self“ with the oblique case of the personal pronoun „hire“. With „hithself, itself“ it is precisely the same, although some grammarians want to derive „itself“ from „itself“, in spite of the wellknown circumstance that „itself“ existed hundreds of years before the possessive form „its“ was formed. (Schmitz, Engl. gram. pg. 105). The modern language (*Sprachbewußtsein*) may perhaps be inclined to consider „self“ in „herself“ and „itself“ as a substantive and „her and it“ as possessive pronouns, as in „myself, thyself“, but the historical development teaches us, that this is not the case.

Examples.

Singul. masc. dat.

Vorþi þet he ne help him suluen. Ancr. R. 38,11 M. II.
The kat ful wel him sulve liveth (= believes). Owl and Night. 808.

Singul. masc. accus.

He gifeþþ hemm himm selfenn her swa forþerrlike onn eorþe.
Orm. 5512.
Ford com Corineus and fusde hine sulfne. La3. A 1865. B.: fusde him seolue.
Hu Uder þe king unrede hine seolven. La3. A. 19425. B.: fondede him seolue.
For þe lewede man wurded his spuse mid clodes more þan him selven. Sermons 46,5. M. II.
For elch man þe hie doð wered him selven. ibd. 51,14.

Sing. femin. dat.

þat hire suluen heo was laþ. La3. A. 3774. B.: hire seolue.
Thus she gat her selve reste. Gower 476.

Sing. femin. accus.

To sle hire king and hire selue. King Horn 1198.
Before the folk hireselven stripith she. 8770. C. T. Chaucer.

Sing. neut. dat. and accus.

Therefore be itselfe delitabill es þe name of Jhesu. R. R. de Hamp. 123,11, M. II.
All if þe spycery in itselfe be noghte full clene. ibd. 146,2.
And it es delitande by itselfe. ibd. 132,12.
But: And there is a lampe that hongethe before the sepulcre, that brennethe lighte and on the Gode Fryday it gothe out be himself and lyghtith azen be himself Maundev. 190,27, M. II. —

Plural dat.

Ah bi heom seoluen heo slozen alle. La3. A 27734. B.: 3am seolf.

Heore raehscipe scal heom seoluen to reoupe iwurden. La3.
A 24943, B: 3am seolue.

But: þay forgetes þe mynde of thaymselfe. R. R. de H. 148,7, M. II.
When þay are unmyghty of þayme selfe. ibd. 129,17.

In the Serm. ag. Mir. Plays we find „themsilf“ 230,4, but
„hemsilf“ 230,6.

Plur. accus.

Swa þatt te33 cunnenn raþenn rihht hemm sellfenn annd ec oðre.
Orm. 5514.

Heo 3eokeden heora earmes and 3arweden heom seoluen þe wurse
gon iscenden. La3. A 25508. B: 3am seolue.

Hou hi ssolle ham zelue ssriue. A3enb. of Inv. 61,5, M. II.

þet hi hamzelue ne knaweþ ne ne zyeþ. ibd. 72,12.

Casten that the commune sholde hemself fynde. Piers Pl. 233.

They dreint hemselven. Chaucer, C. T. 11690.

The seven maidens han slaine hemself. ibd. 11722.

But in northern authors:

þai halde þam selfe vile and erþely. R. R. de H. 127,5, M. II.

All cristene men and wymene þat mekes þameselfe. ibd. 150,12.

And swa þay dampne þamselfe. ibd. 150,25.

We should expect to see „self“ remain invariable in the plural number, because „self“ preserves in its connection with pronouns of the third person the character of an adjective and the English adjective does not vary in the plural number. But in consequence of the precedent of „ourselves, yourselves“ the form „themselves“ receives the plural termination „themselves“. This innovation took also place during that long sterile period between Chaucer and Spenser (1400—1560). Chaucer only uses „hemsilf“. I found the first passage in Dunbar:

Sum thocht thame sellfis stark. I, 116,21.

But even at Dunbar's time, the plural termination had not yet become the established rule, for we read also:

Sum hes thair advocattis in chamir and takis thame sellfe thairof
no glamir. ibd. 101,20. cf. also pg. 39. —

In its inclination to consider „self“ as a substantive and to add it to possessive pronouns, the formation of the English language showed with regard to the third person a great inconsistency. A reason for it can hardly be given; with regard to euphony nothing can be said against such forms as „hissel, itsel, theirsel“, nor do I see any other reason which might be alleged. All we can do, is to recognize the fact that the historical development of the English language in this particular instance became arrested. There are, however, some examples which prove that the inclination to regard „self“ as a substantive, was also strongly exhibited with regard to the third person. I found the following examples of „hissel“ instead of „hemsilf“:

His ship was doun born, hissel gan þer deye. R. Manning's
transl. of Peter Langtoft's Chron. ed. Hearne I, 158.

þe un-rightwis saide with tunge hisse þat in his self noght gilt in isse. A. S. and Early Engl. Psalter XXXV, 2.

Mätzner (gram. II, 11) says: „Instead of „himself“ we often find „hissel“ as a substantive“. He gives, however, only two examples:

Hissel shall not excuse hym. Townley-Mysteries pg. 191.

We nede no wytnes, hissel says expres. ibd. p. 197.

According to Koch I, 471 „hissel“ became firmly established in some dialects, for instance in the Hampshire and Northumbrian. I have found myself a few examples in modern prose writers:

„One of our boysgorging his-self with vittles and then turning ill; that's their way“ says the Yorkshire school-master in Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby chapt. 34.

To see how sly and cunning he grubbed on, day after day, a-worming and plodding and tracing and turning and twining of hissel about. ibd. chapt. 57.

He makes hissel a sort of servant to her (says a fisherman from Yarmouth). Dicken's Dav. Copperf. Tauchn. II, 86,

Sure, we have his picture in our gallery and hissel painted it. Thackeray, The Virginians I, 15 (Tauchn. ed.) —

Likewise we find according to Mätzner I, 319, „theirsels“ instead of „themselves“ in some northern dialects. For the earlier time he quotes a passage out of Froyssart's Chronicle: „They had gret desyre to prove theirsels“. I have found another example in W. Dunbar:

„And quhen thair baggis ar full, thair sellfis ar bair. I, 194, 27.

Still it must be observed that „thair sellfis“ is used here not in the reflective, but in the reenforcing sense.

In some dialects we find also instances of a preservation of the archaic forms „meself, theeself“. We hear, for instance, a Yorkshireman in Dickens' Nich. Nickl. ch. 42, say: „I say“ said John, rather astounded for the moment, „mak' theeself quite at whoam (= home), will' ee!“

My own experience enables me to add that it is quite common in some parts of England to hear the lower classes say „meeself and theeself“. —

We have yet to speak of the indefinite reflective pronoun „one's self“. This pronoun either refers to an indefinite „one“ which is expressed, or it is placed beside an infinitive the subject of which is understood. In „one's self“, the character of „self“ is that of a substantive as in the first and second persons:

„Out of love to one's self, one must speak better of a friend than an enemy“, Fielding. „To dress one's self, to kill one's self“ etc. This reflective presupposes the use of „one“ as an indefinite pronoun which was, however, entirely unknown before and at the time of Chaucer, and consequently the form „one's self“ could not exist either. Only

Mätzner II, 14, quotes the following passage from the Townley-Mysteries (about the end of the 14. century) pg. 144: „Oone spake in myn eers wonderfulle talkyng“. I failed to find another example, nor do other grammarians quote any. The first example of „one's self“ I found in Dunbar I, 179, where a poem is entitled: „Rewl of anis self“ (one's self). How the modern expression „one's self“ was formerly rendered, I am unable to discover; most probably by „him, himself“.

PERIOD III.

EXPRESSION OF THE REFLECTIVE RELATION IN MODERN ENGLISH.

We have now arrived at the time in which the present forms of the reflective pronouns became finally settled. From the time of Spenser and Shakespeare till now, they underwent little or no change. To express a reflective relation in modern English, the same means are employed with which we have become acquainted in the foregoing period: the simple personal pronouns and „myself, thyself“ etc.

With regard to these two means, we have to make the remark that the forms with „self, selves“ can be used nearly in all cases in which a reflective relation is to be expressed. The simple personal pronouns are used in prose only after prepositions and perhaps in a few archaisms, but in poetry their use is more frequent. The neuter form „it“ seems to have been entirely superseded in modern English by „itself“. In general, the use of the forms with „self, selves“ becomes gradually predominant, and perhaps the English language will in future entirely give up the reflective use of the simple personal pronouns, although it cannot be denied that some of the modern poets, especially those of the romantic period, manifest a great predilection for this construction. I think we can save us the trouble of quoting examples of the forms with „self, selves“. As for examples in which the personal pronouns without „self“ are used in a reflective sense, I refer to the second part of this dissertation in which we have to examine the syntax of the reflective pronouns and where a copious collection of such examples will be given. Instead thereof I think it proper to cite here some examples in which „self“ is used as a substantive. Although this use of „self“ is not intimately connected with our subject, still it may serve as an illustration of the change of the Anglo-Sax. „me selfne“ etc. into „myself“ etc.:

For there is a popular belief that Dutchmen love broad cases and much clothing for their own lower selves. Dickens, the cricket on the Hearth, Tauchn. ed. p. 10,

And his whole sarcastic ill-conditioned self ibd. p. 31.

The wonderful expression in her whole self. ibd. p. 88.

How different in this from her old self. ibd. p. 97.

Dearer than self. Byron, Ch. Har. II, 24.

A truth which through our being then doth melt and purifies
from self. ibd. III, 90.

To thine own self be true. Shak. Haml. I, 3.

But for my single self. Shak. J. Caes. I, 2.

'Tis Edith's self. W. Scott, Lord of the Isles V, 4.

So came that shock not frenzy's self could bear. T. Moore, Veil.
Proph. (Lalla Rookh.)

From observation of self and neighbour. Thakeray, Virgin.
Tauchn. II, 34.

Then you were yourself again, after yourself's decease. Shak. Son. 13.

This last passage shows an instance of „self“ undergoing the
A. S. genitive inflection. —

The reenforcing pronouns during the period of transition and in modern English.

We have yet to consider the development of „self“ added to a noun by way of reenforcement. We find the first traces of this practice already in Anglo-Saxon, and we have seen above that in this case „self“ was very often preceded by a pleonastic dative. (cf. pg. 22). Gradually the original signification of this strange construction disappears, and, this practice once having become habitual, the blending of the dative with „self“ commences. Out of the above quoted passages (pg. 23), taken from the Saxon Chronicle, it will easily be seen that the original signification of this pleonastic dative was already lost and that it had become closely compounded with „seolf“.

I maintain that out of the following forms:

<i>Singul.</i> Jc {		me self			pu {	þe self
		me selfa				þe selfa
<i>Sing.</i> He {	him self	<i>Heó</i> {	hire self	<i>Hit</i> {	him self	
	him selfa		hire selfa		him selfa	
<i>Plur.</i> Ve . . .	ús selfe	Ge . . .	eów selfe	Hi . . .	heom selfe	

the reenforcing pronouns of the modern English „myself“ etc. have been developed, which in the course of time were employed also to reenforce a substantive which is the object of a sentence, except a pronominal object. I deny that these forms are identical with the corresponding reflective pronouns with regard to their origin, though in outward appearance they are exactly alike. Nor do I believe that the reenforcing pronouns are only a peculiar application of the reflective pronouns, though the modern language may be inclined to consider them in that way. However, I do not mean to say, that they have been developed separately or independent from the reflective forms. The influence of the latter is plainly visible, especially in the transition from the adjective to the substantive

use of „self“. Mätzner, gram. II, 11 and 22 and Koch II, 238 are the first grammarians who hint at this origin and peculiar character of the reenforcing pronouns, but they leave the question obscure and undecided. I will try to prove my assertion. If my hypothesis be correct, we must needs find in the earliest Semi-Saxon monuments a difference between the reenforcing and the reflective pronouns with regard to inflection. And this is really the case, for we find that in the former, „self“ is uninflected and in the latter we find the inflection „en, ne“ (cf. pg. 14). This difference is most apparent in the singular number; here the reenforcing word has in those earliest monuments no inflection at all, except that of „e“, which is to be explained out of the A. S. definite form „selfa“. Afterwards the inflection of the reflective pronouns „en“ was given up and then the reflective and the reenforcing pronouns become identical in form. In the 14. century we find again in both cases the termination „en“, which I have denounced to be of unorganic nature, cf. pg. 35 and 39. With regard to the plural number, it cannot be denied that the reenforcing pronouns often have the inflection „seolfen“, especially in *Laȝamon* and the *Ormulum*. It might be inferred from this that the definite Anglo-Saxon nominative plural inflection „an“ has been preserved; but instances of the definite inflection of „seolf“ in Anglo-Saxon can be found for the reenforcing pronouns only in singular: forms like „ve . . . ūs seolfan“ occur nowhere. We must therefore conclude that the inflection „en“ in plural was introduced in consequence of the inflection of the reflective pronouns; „usselġ“ was already considered as a compound word and the termination „en“ of the reflective pronoun was thought to be the proper means to mark the plural of the reenforcing pronouns also. As for the first of the two elements of which the reenforcing words are composed, the original datives of the personal pronouns, we find that they are subject to the same changes which we have discussed with regard to the reflective pronouns; they appear at the same time and in the same manner. For the singular of the first and second persons the *Orm.* offers constantly „me, þe self“, whilst *Laȝ. A* has already the younger forms „mi, þi seolf“; but it must be observed that *Laȝ. A* often omits the dative „mi, þi“ altogether and puts a mere „seolf“ to the subject. The fact that *Laȝ. A* has in this instance the younger forms, is the more strange, because we had frequent opportunities to notice the usage of the more ancient pronouns in *Laȝ. A*, where we find for the reflective pronouns only once: *þi seoluen* (17899). In *Laȝ. B* and in the later monuments we find only „mi, þiself“. In the poem „*Thom. a Beket*“ I found once more „þe self“ (2066). The inclination to consider „self“ as a substantive is also apparent in its reenforcing use, for instance:

Myself hath been the whippe. Chaucer, C. Tales 5757.

And even in Shakespeare we read:

Even so myself bewails good Gloster's case with sad, unhelpful tears. 2 K. Henry IV. III. 1.

Examples.

1. *pers. singul.*

Annd I me self shall reȝsenn itt.... Orm. 16242.

þatt I me self sahh Godess Gast. ibd. 11592.

And þenne we heom cumeð to, mi seolf ic wullen on-fon. Laȝ. A. 26194.

Mi seolf ich habbe inowe. ibd. 17054.

So long idel we ly, myself mai do me nede. Sir Tristr. 74,11.
M. I. 236.

Myself and my meynnee bledden blood. Piers Pl. 11287.

And I myself into the feldes went. ibd. 6131.

2. *pers. singul.*

Loc nu þe self, hu ferr þu gast. Orm. 4666.

Itt shūneþþ, þatt to wast te self. ibd. 9395.

Cumm nu þe self annd loke. ibd. 12789.

And þu seolf wurþ al hisund. Laȝ. A 3193, And þou þi seolf far hol and sunde, B.

An þan ilke daeie, þu þu seolf demest. Laȝ. A 14940; þat þou þi seolf demest, B.

þat weore þu Uder þi seolf. Laȝ. A 17964. þou þi seolf, B.

For thu were ther tho the silf and meni other therto. Thom. a Beket 2066.

Sythen thou seyst thiselven.... Serm. ag. Mir. Pl. 235,2, M. II.

Thus we see that the mutation of the dative of the personal pronouns into possessives, and the transition of „seolf“ from an adjective to a substantive, took place at the same time and in the same manner as the mutation of the reflectives „me, þe seolfne, sellfenn“.

Regarding the plural of the first and second persons we find that in Laȝ. A „us selue and us seoluen, eow seluen“ are used, in Laȝ. B only „us seolue, us seolf“. The Orm. has „uss sellfenn, zuw sellfenn“. These forms remain the ruling ones until the middle of the 14. century. After the year 1350 the possessive pronouns begin to supersede the personal pronouns in the same manner and for the same reasons, as we have seen with regard to the reflective pronouns. cf. pg. 37.

The chronicles of Rob. of Glouc. and of Rob. Mannyng contain no instance of a reenforcing pronoun in the first and second person of the plural, nor is there an instance in Rich. R. de Hamp., at least in the large specimen given by Mätzner, unless we take in the passage: „We begile ourselfe“ (M. II, 151,14) „ourselfe“ as reenforcement to „we“. Piers Ploughman who uses the earlier and the younger forms indiscriminately (cf. pg. 38) in the reflective sense, offers the single passage: „Ye self, now ye witnessen“, 11048.

The conflict of the two forms is best illustrated in the different manuscripts of Wycliffe's translation of the bible. In the poem „Sir Gawayne“ and in Chaucer the modern forms prevail.

Examples.

1. *pers. plur.*

Us selfe we habbet cokes. La3. A 3315; hus seolf we habbeþ cocus. B.

Oder we us seoluen ofslazen wulled liggen La3. A. 15572. (Oder we us seolue. B).

In the famous proclamation of Henry III. (1216—1272), given in the year 1258, we read: *Witnesse usseluen.* (The ancient French text: *Testmoin meimeismes*).

If we shulen seie, for we han no synne, we oure silf deceyuen us. *Wicl. I. Joh. 1,8*: o the reading of the earlier manuscript, whilst the younger has: *We disseyuen us silf.* And again:

For soth, not only it but and we us silf. *Rom. 8,23*, where the earlier m. s. reads: *we oure self.*

With oure deth we usself suffre the harmys of oure seruyse (other version: *ouresilf*) *Judith 3,2.*

He made us and we not usself (other version: *oureself*) *Psalm 99,2.* That we ne couden not ourself devisen how . . . *Chauc. C. Tal. 7984.*

2. *pers. plur.*

Annd 3e 3uw sellfenn berenn me god wittness. *Orm. 17952.*

To fellen uren leoden and beon eow seluen riche. La3. A 5799.

And . . . seolf riche B.

3ee 3oure self beren witnessynge to me. *Wicl. Joh. III, 28*, whilst the younger manuscript reads: *3e 3ou silf*; the younger m. s. has the ancient form, and the earlier m. s. has the modern form; four other versions have, however, „*3e 3oure self*“. We see the conflict is in full progress at the time of Wiclyffe.

þa3 3e 3our-self be talentyff . . . *Sir Gawayne, 350 M. I.*

Now chese yourseluen whether that you liketh (one person is addressed) *Chaucer C. T. 6809.*

Cheseth yourself which may be most plesance. *ibd. 6814.* (one person).

But as ye wol yourself, right so wol I. *ibd. 8237* (one pers).

Ye han yourselven shewed her to-day so high sentence. *ibd. 9380* (several pers.)

We see from the last quoted passages that the termination „en“ is no sign of a plural. At the time of Chaucer the reenforcing pronouns had as little a plural form as the reflective pronouns. cf. pag. 39. Consequently it was impossible to make the difference which the modern language makes between the plur. majest. „we ourself“ and the ordinary plural „we ourselves“, or between the addressing a single person with „you yourself“ or a number with „you yourselves.“ The first example of a plural termination „es“ of the reenforcing pronouns, I quote again from Dunbar:

But soberly our sellfis dois sustene II, 10, 221.

But in addressing a single person:

Richt as yoursilf it war. II, 19, 475. —

For the singular of the third person we have the forms: masc. himself, himself, fem. hireself, herself, herself.

For the neuter I failed to meet with examples; it ought to have been „himself,“ but if we remember that „hit, it“ gradually became established in the dative (cf. pg. 28), the forms „himself, himself, itself“ have probably been in use for some time promiscuously. Finally „itself“ became the ruling form, whereby the desire to distinguish between the masc. and the neuter must be taken into account.

The plural form of the three genders is „heom seolf, hemm sellfen, hem self“ and in northern dialects: „þaimself, þamself, þemself,“ though for the latter forms I can give no examples. The plural termination „es“ is also added about the year 1500.

Examples.

3. pers. sing. masc.

þatt he þa mihhte himm self ben well his aʒhen hellpe annd hirde. Orm. 3192.

Him self mid his fenge he to wode ferde. Laʒ. A and B 613.

And he him seolf at-sterde. Laʒ. A 12965. cf. also Laʒ. 805, 23725, 29654, 20405.

þan þer he hymself kyng was. R. of Gl. I, 118.

And himself ine his spille het his. Aʒ. of Inv. 60, 2 and 88, 15.

Him self mei se, if gode he can. A Sarmun 35 and 108.

Of threo and vyfti ʒer him silf of elde he was tho. Th. a Bek. 2255. M. I.

As he him silue isaie. St. Dunst. 192. M. I.

Himself drank water of the well. Chaucer C. T. 13843.

3. pers. sing. femin.

Annd ʒho wass hire self full wis. Ormul. 8685.

Tonge breketh bon, and nad hire selve non. Prov. of Hendyng 148.

3. pers. plural.

Crist self and teʒʒ hemm selltenn. Orm. 17866.

Heo seolf nomen heore lond. Laʒ. A 5991, B: Heom . . . lf.

(Madden supposes „heom seolf“ also for the elder M. S., but I think, this is unnecessary: „heo“ may be nominative plural, to which only „seolf“ is added as an affirmation.)

The same it is in the following passage: For heo seolf ne cunne. Laʒ. A 12406, where B reads: For heom seolf noht ne conne.

If men hem silf hit nolde. St. Marg. 211. M. I.

For thei mesured noght hemself. Piers Pl. 9068.

In Anglo-Saxon „self“ could be used as reenforcement without the use of a pleonastic dative. This is also the case in Semi-Saxon and Old-English. The examination of this practice lies, however,

not within the compass of our dissertation; in fact, we should not have had to speak of the reenforcing use of „self“ at all, if those forms did not happen to be identical with the reflective forms, at least in modern English, and in Old English since the decay of the inflection towards the end of the 13. century. In modern English, „self“ cannot be used alone without its pronominal complement, but on the other hand, the subject to which „myself, thyself“ etc. are put as reenforcements, can be omitted if it is a pronoun. This omission is of so frequent an occurrence that I can dispense with quoting any examples. The reenforcing word can also be added to an object, if the latter is a substantive, but not if it is a pronoun. To say: „I have seen him himself“ would be a cacophony, but „I have seen the man himself“ is quite natural; the reason of this restriction can, therefore, only be a euphonical.

PART II.

SYNTAX OF THE REFLECTIVE PRONOUNS.

We have seen that in Anglo-Saxon a reflective relation was expressed in the first place by means of the simple personal pronouns. To these was added in the second place the adjective „seolf“ and lastly we have seen that „seolf“ alone was used in some instances to express the reflective sense. We might easily be induced to suppose that these three different ways to express a reflective relation were not used without any difference whatever in their signification. It seems natural to conclude that the compound forms with „seolf“ were used in those cases in which the person to which the reflective pronoun referred, was put in particular opposition to another person, in other words, where a particular emphasis was laid upon the reflected person. It is very likely, considering the proper meaning of „seolf“, that this was originally the case. Yet already in the oldest A. S. monuments, in Cǣdmon, Cynevulf (not yet, as it seems, in Beóvulf) this usage disappeared, and the emphatical signification of „seolf“ became attenuated.

The consequence was that the reflective expressions „me seolfum, mec seolfne“ etc. and „seolfum and seolfne“ alone, were used also in such cases where there was no particular emphasis at all. On the other hand it is evident, that the personal pronouns alone could never be used emphatically.

A. Examples

in which the personal pronouns in connection with „seolf“ have a particular emphasis:

Vín drincende vaeron ôð hī heora sylfra lytel geveald hæfdon.
Orosius II, 4 § 8.

Ac vurdon him sylfum vidervearde. Oros. VI, 4 § 2.

Ve þās þonc mǣgon secgan sigedryhtne symle bi gevyrhtum, þās
þe he hine sylfne ūs sendan volde. Crist. 129.

Aeghvilc ville . . . synrust þreán and hine sylfne gevrác ána mid
ecge. Beóv. 2875.

Lufa þinne nehstan svá þe sylfne. Matth. 19, 19.

And ealne his here geflymdon and hine sylfne gefēngon. Oros. I,
12 § 3.

And svôr þät him leófre vaere þaet he hine sylfne ácvealde,
þonne he forlæte his fæder êpel. Oros. IV, 9 § 2.

And áfter þam hī hī sylfe on þam fyre forspildon. Oros. V, 3 § 2.

Likewise after prepositions:

Beseoh tō þe silfum. Apol. of Tyre pg. 4.

Ic be me sylfum spræce. St. John 7,17.

And (he) þære þeóde ôðerne naman áscôp be him sylfum.
Oros. I, 8 § 3.

þät hió (sc. seó sávla) hvearfode on hire selfre hire útán ymb.
Metra XX, 206.

Mannes sávl.... hværfed ymbe hy selfe. Metra XX, 210.

Ic sverige þurh me sylfne (per memetipsum juro). Genes. 22,16.

Seó sávla bið áháfen ofer hī selfe. Metra XX, 219.

Betuh him sylfum. Oros. I, 8 § 2.

Leófa þe hī [tō Gode háfdon ge eác him selfum betveonum.
Oros. II, 1 § 6.

B. Examples

in which the personal pronouns in connection with
„seolf“ have no particular emphasis at all:

He bôð his sylfes. Bī manna môde, 28.

And he (Conôn) þaer his sylfes lange gemyneunge gedyde.
Oros. III, 1 § 4.

Ic me sylfum vât áfter líces hryre leán unhvilen. Gúðlác 1064.

Veorða þe selfne gôðum daedum. Valdere I, 22.

Se þe hine sylfne... þurh oferhygda upáhlaened. Bī man.
môde 52.

He hyne sylfne áhêng. Mtth. 27,5.

And ávende hine sylfne to Gôde. Sax. Chron. 1067.

Pilatus ofslôh hyne sylfne mid his ágenre handa. Sax. Chron. 37.

God þá gesvutelode hine sylfne Abrahame. Genes. 12,7.

Ic gesvutelige him 'me sylfne. St. John 14,21. (I will manifest
myself to him).

And (se cyngc)... hine 'sylfne átyvde his ceaster — gevarum.
Apol. of T. pg. 3.

Mid þam þe heó þät gehrde, heó hī silfe mid cynelícum reáfe
gefrátvode ibd. pg. 23.

Rarely unemphatically after prepositions:

Mágon veána tō fela geseón on him selfum synne genôge. Crist 1264.

Ic nime eów tō me sylfon. St. John 14, 3 (now: I will come
again and receive you unto myself).

With regard to those cases in which „seolf“ without a pronoun
is used in a reflective sense, they have, with very rare exceptions,
I believe, always an emphatical sense:

Se me víðgalum vísað hvílum sylfum tō rice. Ráthsel 21,6.

Oft heó tō bealve bearn áfêðed selfre tō sorge. Sal. and Sat. 372.

Hie se cásere héht gearvian sylfe to síðe. Elene 1000 (sylfe in
opposition to the messengers).

pät hie lufan dryhtnes and sybbe svá sama sylfra betveónum
freóndraedenne fäste gelaeston. Elene 1206.

Also the possessive genitive „selfes“ in expressions like „selfes villum, selfes dóme, selfes cräfte, selfes mihtum“ etc. is always used emphatically.

With regard to the frequency of expressing the reflective relation in Anglo-Saxon either by one means or by the other and with regard to a perceptible difference in this respect between poetry and prose, I have to make the following remarks:

- 1) The simple personal pronouns are used in a reflective sense more frequently than the combinations with „seolf“, at least in poetry, whilst all prose monuments seem to incline more to the use of „seolf“.
- 2) The simple personal pronouns are used neither in poetry nor in prose in a reflective sense, if they have a particular emphasis.
- 3) The personal pronouns in connection with „seolf“ are used in poetry mostly emphatically; this distinction though it early disappears in poetry as well as in prose, is in the former far more frequently observed than in the latter. —

The reason of this difference between the diction in poetry and prose is, in my opinion, this: The poetical language always preserves the ancient usage and original expressions much longer than the prose language, because such expressions, on account of their greater perspicuity and originality, address themselves more directly to the imagination of men. The prose language, by virtue of its close relation to the matter-of-fact colloquial language, has a far greater propensity to modify and to obliterate ancient idiomatic usages, the import and signification of which gradually disappear and are no longer felt or understood.

In the subsequent development of the language, the use of the simple personal pronouns in a reflective sense decreases in a slow but steady manner, and the use of „self“ grows in the same degree. I think it can safely be said that in the time from 1200–1400 both ways of expression were used without the preponderance of either, although it is difficult to decide this question with positive certainty. Since the 16. century the reflective personal pronouns become more and more restricted to the poetical language, whilst in the prose language the forms with „self“ acquire an almost unlimited sway. Only after prepositions and in some archaic forms (for instance, we find the frequent expression in A. S. and Semi-Saxon „he hine bi-þohte“ still extant, even in the very best prose writers: Macaulay (biograph. essays, Tauchn. 86) says: The king bethought him again. Thack. Virgin. IV, 131: I bethought me of my [friend, Mr. Johnson.] the simple personal pronouns remain extant also in prose, without however excluding the forms with „self“. The neuter pronoun „it“ which we find in A. S. and old English in a reflective sense, is according to Mätzner (gram. II, 68)

entirely superseded by „itself“, unless we make an exception with regard to its reflective use after prepositions. A reason why „it“ makes this exception from the other pronouns, is hard to give. Perhaps it was in order to avoid misconceptions which by the vague nature of „it“ were more likely to occur than in other pronouns.

Examples

of the reflective use of the personal pronouns
in modern English:

A. In poetry:

Arouse thee from thy moody dream. W. Scott, *Lady of the Lake* II, 6.

But when he turned him to the glade. II, 6.

Bethink thee of the discord dread. II, 15.

And hid him from the haunts of men. III, 6.

We bow us to our lot of care. III, 29.

Hush thee, poor maiden. IV, 24.

I'll couch me here till evening grey. IV, 28.

Now yield thee. V, 16.

He plunged him in the wave. VI, 20.

We never feast us at a stranger's board. Scott, *Lord of the Isles*, III, 24.

Oh, haste thee, Wilfrid. Scott, *Rokeby*, V, 29.

Then couch'd him down beside the hind. Scott, *Marmion*, II, 33.

Though there but houseless cattle go to shield them from the storm. *ibid.* IV, 11.

Lord Marmion turned him half aside. IV, 22.

Each ordering that his band should bowne them with the rising day. IV, 22.

A purer heart, a lovelier maid, never shelter'd her in Whitby's shade. V, 21.

Cheer thee, my child. V, 30.

I did . . . dash me frantic on the ground. IV, 6.

(They) still bear them bravely in the fight. VI, 26.

She stoop'd her by the runnel's side. VI, 30.

They rest them by the hazel bush. VI, 35.

Cheer'd by this hope, she bends her thither. Moore, *Parad. and the Peri*.

She saw a wearied man impatient fling him down. *ibid.*

And after this let Caesar seat him sure. Shak. *J. Caes.* I, 2.

The duke of Gloucester did bear him like a noble gentleman.

2 *K. Henry VI.* I, 1.

Let such bethink them. Milton, *P. L.* II, 73.

Me for him I offer. III, 236.

She bestirs her then. V, 337.

Then Satan first knew pain and writhed him. VI, 328.

Whither shall I betake me. X, 922.

He could not rest . . . but walked him forth along the sand.

Byron, *Siege of Cor.* XIII, 15.

Then haste thee to thy sullen isle. Byron, *Ode to Napol.* 14, 1.

Childe Harold bask'd him in the noontide sun. Ch. Har. I, 4, 1.

What gallant war-hounds rouse them from their lair. *ibd.* I, 40, 5.

When shall she breathe her from the blushing toil? I, 90, 6.

Ere the Frank robber turn him from his spoil. I, 90, 8.

Some lash'd them in their hammocks. Don Juan. II, 45, 1.

Upon the clay each sat him down. Mazeppa. III.

Not even an ignis-fatuus rose to make him merry with my woes.

Maz. XV.

B. In prose.

Every Abderitish woman chastely sat her down. Sterne, *Sent. Journ.* pg. 47, ed. Schmidt.

The king bethought him again. Macaulay, *Biogr. Ess.*

It is the custom of the dying soldier not to vaunt him. Scott, *Legend of Montr.*

At last they sat them down in the apartment to rest . . .
Dickens, *N. Nick.* ch. 50.

C. The reflect. pers. pron. after prepositions.

That sky has nought beneath it half so lorn as I. Moore, *Veil. Proph. of Khor.*

When I heard frightful voices round me say. *ibd.*

By this he drew round him crowds of dependents. Vic. of Wak. ch. 3.

Art thou ill, who drew after him . . . Milt. P. L. II, 692.

Which they brought with them from their native Germany. Shaw, *Hist. of E. L.* p. 10.

At first Nicholas stared about him, really without seeing anything at all. N. N. ch. 8.

But they made me more afraid of them. *ibd.* 22.

D. Examples of the forms with self after prepositions:

(in this case they are used more or less emphatically)

Caleb Plummer and his blind daughter lived all alone by themselves . . . Dickens, *Cricket on the H.* p. 41.

I told him a good deal about myself. *ibd.* p. 58.

For which she took no credit to herself, though she had every reason to believe it was entirely owing to herself. *ibd.* p. 66.

Observing freely for myself and judging for myself . . . *ibd.* p. 109.

Lady Warrington even tried a reconciliation with myself. Thack. *Virg.* IV, 162.

I have to add here a few words about the modern use of „ourself, ourselves, yourself, yourselves“. The rule is that „ourselves,

yourself" are used in speaking of two or more persons; „yourself“ is used in addressing a single person and „ourself“, if a person speaks of himself in a dignified manner (plur. majest.):

Be as ourself in Denmark. Haml. I, 2.

Now for ourself and this time of meeting. ibd. I, 2.

'Tis in my memory lock'd, and you yourself shall keep the key to it. ibd. I, 3. (Ophelia is speaking to Laertes).

God hath given you one face and you make yourselves another. ibd. III, 1 (Hamlet is speaking to Ophelia).

That we with wisest sorrow think on him together with remembrance of our selves. ibd. I, 2 (the king is speaking of himself).

In the last two passages it might seem as if „ourselves“ and „yourself“ stand for „ourself, yourself“; this is, however, not the case if we read those passages in their context. At least I could find no instances in proof of such a usage. On the other hand, the reverse case is sometimes met with: or in other words, instances of the omission of the plural sign „s“, occur until the time of Shakespeare:

Let us not apply ourselfe therto. Skelton I, 20.

Learning is but an adjunct to ourself, and where we are, our learning likewise is. Shak. Love's L. L. IV, 3.

I may be allowed also to mention the peculiarity of some modern poets in placing two reflective pronouns (or a refl. and a reenforcing pron.) close together, mostly as subject and object. In Shakespeare's poems we read the following passages:

Two glasses where herself herself beheld a thousand times. Ven. and Adon.

And for himself himself he must forsake. Rape of Lucr.

When he himself himself confounds. ibd.

Let himself himself seek every hour to kill. ibd.

Myself, thy friend, will kill myself, thy foe. ibd.

Comparing him to that unhappy guest, whose deed has made herself herself detest. ibd.

Then you were yourself again, after yourself's decease. Sonnet 13.

* * *

We have now to examine which expressions or notions of activity permit of a reflective relation, and which cases of the reflective pronouns are employed in each special emergency. In general it is easy to decide if a reflect. relation is in question or not. As soon as the activity of a verb or the condition or circumstance which is indicated by it, refers to a direct or indirect object which is identical with the subject, we have an instance of a reflect. relation. Difficulties are, however, arising in abbreviated or contracted sentences, especially where the purport of an accessory objective sentence is expressed by an infinitive, or where the purport of an attributive sentence is given by a noun depending on a preposition.

In order to make myself thoroughly understood, we cannot do better than examine a few sentences. Let us examine for instance the German sentence: „Er ließ ihn wieder zu sich kommen.“ Taking this sentence thus detached from its context, it admits of a double conception: „sich“ can refer to the subject of the entire contracted sentence and the meaning is: „He ordered him to visit him again“; or „sich“ can refer to the logical subject of the objective sentence which is contained in the infinitive „kommen“, and then the meaning is: „He allowed him to recover“. Both conceptions are justified; the question is, which of them the English language prefers. As far as I can see, the Engl. language considers the pronouns to be in a reflective sense, only if they refer to the logical subject of the abbreviated sentence, which is expressed either by means of an infinitive or by means of a prepositional relation, but not if they refer to the subject of the principal verb. Thus we say: „He let him come to him“ = *jussit eum venire ad se*, and not „to himself“, because the words „to him“ do not refer to the logical subject of the dependent clause implied by the infinitive (i. e. him), but to the subject of the whole sentence (i. e. he). We read for instance in Dickens (*Cricket on the Hearth* pg. 47, Tauch. edit.): „But I think Caleb's vague bewilderment of manner may have half originated in his having confused himself about himself and everything around him“. In this sentence, I think it is not allowed to say: „Around himself“, because the words „around him“ represent for themselves an attributive clause: „which was around him“. „Him“ does not refer to the subject and, consequently, cannot be considered as a reflective pronoun. I will yet examine another example: „Not oft he talks with aught beneath him“ (Byron, *Ch. Harold II*, 19); if in this sentence „himself“ were put instead of „him“, the meaning would be totally changed. „Him“ refers here to the subject of the whole sentence „he“, not to that of the attributive clause, implied by the words „beneath him“ (with aught that was beneath him), and therefore the English language does not consider this as a reflective relation.

This is my opinion of the question, though I do not think the matter exhausted by the preceding remarks. Perhaps a closer examination than which I could find time to bestow upon this questionable point, would afford new materials, sufficient to bring clearness and certainty in place of the uncertainty in which I am compelled to leave the matter. —

It is quite natural that, as a rule, the reflective relation occurs in connection with transitive verbs, for there the object can always be identical with the subject. It happens, however, not unfrequently that a reflective relation is connected with intransitive verbs, in as much as to these a reflective dative is put, which serves to give the activity contained in the verb an organic relation to the subject. By means of the use of this dative, the whole sentence receives a subjective tinge, for it is implied thereby that the person in question is not wholly indifferent to the statement given by the predicate. As a matter of course, this dative which conveys there-

fore always the expression of a lively feeling, can be added to transitive verbs as well. Modern grammarians often see in this usage a pleonasm, and, in reality, it cannot be doubted that from a logical view, this dative appears quite superfluous. In Anglo-Saxon this ethic or pleonastic dative is of very frequent occurrence, and here its nature and functions were understood and felt the clearest. In modern English we find this dative only connected with some few verbs, indicating a rest or a motion, but, on account of the coincidence of the forms, people are more inclined to consider it as an accusative than as a dative. At least, it is safe to say that the modern idiom has no longer an understanding for such expressions and considers them as archaisms. Besides, if the verb stands in the plural number of the imperative mood, it is doubtful whether we have to deal with a reflective pleonastic dative or with the nominative of the personal pronoun which is sometimes added to the imperative, for instance:

„Sir, step you forth“. Shak. Cymb. 5, 5.

We have yet to observe that in A. S., Semi-Sax. and Old Engl. this dative never was accompanied by „self“, whilst in modern English „self“ is added in a few rare instances:

Mad. Esmond had pointed out to him in her letters that, though he wore a student's gown, he had himself a name to support and could take rank with the first persons. Thacker. Virgin. III, 198.

As he turned his back, the Biche raised herself. ibd. III, 50.

He sat himself down upon the chair by the bed-side. Sterne, Tr. Shandy, Tauchn. 330.

When he sat himself down. Dickens, Pickw. 2, 20.

The reason is that this dative, on account of its pleonastic nature, only serves to give the sentence a subjective tinge and can, on no account, or condition, be used emphatically. In modern English the emphatical signification of the forms with „self“ has disappeared and therefore, these latter may be sometimes used instead of the simple personal pronouns. But as a rule, the Anglo-Saxon usage prevails, and justly, because this whole expression is an archaism, which is no longer understood.

In Anglo-Saxon this pleonastic dative is added especially to the following verbs:

1. *To verbs indicating a rest:*

beón: þone lencten vaeron him on Cent. Sax. Chron. 1009.

Beóð éov stille. Exod. 14, 14.

And þu þe silf eart sóðfast dēma. Hymnen 7, 37.

standan: And stóð him under þam treóve. Genes. 18, 8.

vunian: þu þe self vunast sviðe stille unávendendlic á forð simle. Metra, 20, 16.

licgan: And þonne óðre hvíle laegon him on Wihthlonde. Saxon Chron. 998.

sittan: And sät hire feorran. Genes. 21, 6.

Saeton him ät vine. Daniel 998.

This last verb is often used in the sense of „to seat one's self“, *fið seþen*. The reason of this usage is not a confounding of „sittan“ with „settan“, but rather a peculiarity of conception which is found in many Germanic idioms: the effect or result is put instead of the activity. cf. the Engl. „sit down, lie down“, low Germ. „sitten gân“ and middle H. Germ. „er saz nieder“; in this way the modern Germ. expressions „aufstehen, auf- absetzen, absetzen“ must be explained.

2. To verbs indicating a motion:

gevitan: Hine þa Cain gevât gongan Gode of gesyhðe. Genesis 1049.

Gevât him þa se hearda mid handscole sylf äfter sande saevong tredan, vide varodas. Beöv. 1963.

Gevitan him gangan under beámsceade. Genes. 858.

Gevitan him on fleám sceacan. Jud. 291.

Him þa secg hraðe gevât sðian ân, gâra lâf, se þa gûðe genäs, Abraham sæcan. Genes. 2018.

Ac him Loth gevât of byrig gangan. Genes. 2591.

Gevitan him þa fêran. Beöv. 301.

Geviton him þa ädre ellorfûse äfter þaere spraece spêdum fêran. Genes. 2397.

Gevât him þa on uhtan mid aerdäge gangan on greôte. Andreas 235.

Gevitan him þa Nordmen nægledcnearrum . . . ofer deóp väter Dyðlin sæcan. Ädelstân 54.

Gevât hyre vest þonan. Râths. 30, 10.

gangan: Gâð eöv heonan. Apol. of T. p. 13.

And (se cyning) hêt his hyred-men ealle him aveg gân. Apol. of Tyre p. 2.

And eoden him þa ûp at Wecedport. Sax. Chron. 997.

Syddon geden (= ge-eoden) heom tô scipe. ibd. 1070.

faran: Ic fôr me þa tô Egipta lande feovertene gear on heofe. Apol. of T. 24.

fêran: He fêre him tô þam sêlran rice. Schiffer 102.

Fêrde se cyng him hám. Sax. Chron. 1009.

Syddon geden heom tô scipe, fêrden heom tô Elig. Sax. Chron. 1070.

tredan: Him Beövulf þanon gûðrinc goldvlanc grásmoldan träd. Beöv. 1880.

vendan: And vendon him þa up tô þaere burgeveard. Saxon Chron. 1048. (M. S. Bodl. Laud. 636).

It is doubtful whether „him“ must not be considered here as accusative which is mostly put to „vendan“ (cf. Saxon Chron. 1036); this would be quite conform to the transitive nature of this verb.

Vended he hine þonne. Sal. and Sat. 103.

He vende hine þar . . . Genes. 547.

Vende hine of vorulde. Elene 440.

But in most cases no reflective case is added to this verb at all.

gevendan: Gevendan heom þá svylce hi voldon tō þām cynge. Sax. Chron. 1046.

And him þá siððan þanon gevānde. Apol. of Tyre p. 13.

hveorfan: And he him syððon hvearf tō Rōme. Orosius V, 12 § 7.

He hvearf him eft niðer. Genes. 762.

cyrran: Cyrde him eft to Lundene. Sax. Chron. 1016.

veorðan: This verb may also be mentioned here, because the idea of „growing, becoming“ includes a motion, veorðan = vertere. cf. turn, become, devenir.

ōð þāt þios eorðe eall forveorðeð . . . and veorðað him selfe siððan tō nāuhte. Metra XI, 85.

3. *To verbs indicating a perception, knowledge, wish etc.:*

geseón: þu þe sylfa gesāve. Gúðlac 439.

vitan: Vite þe be þissum feávum forðspellum. Bī manna mōde 46.

Viste him spraeca fela, vōra vorda. Genes. 445.

Jc me þāt to vorulde vāt tō helpe. Ps. 51, 7.

þu vaest þe baeles cvealm hātne in helle. Andreas 1188.

Viston him be sūðan Sigelvara land. Exod. 69.

Vite þe be þissum . . . Bī man. mōde 17.

beþencan: þā beþōhte he him. Sax. Chron. 1127.

But: and wislice he hine beþohte. ibd. 1067.

(In the former passage „him“ is most likely to be regarded as accusative).

cunnan: þā ne cūðe he him nābetre bōte. Sax. Chron. 1131.

tellan: (in the sense of „to guess, to believe“).

He him vālbende veotode tealde. Beóv. 1936.

villan: Se þe him vile lifgan mit Gode. Codex Exoniens. 450,18.

gevilnian: And gevilnode his āgenre dōhtor him tō gemaeccan.

Ap. of T. p. 1.

ongitan (intelligere): Hūra me freá vited sume þāra synna, þe ic me sylf ne conn ongietan gleávlíce. Hymn. IV, 75.

4. *To verbs of „carrying, taking, seeking“:*

Habban: Hafast þe on fyrhðe eorles ondsvare. Andreas 507.

Vel bið þam eorle, þe him on innan hafað reðe-hydig ver rūme heortan. Almosen. 1.

þāra þe he him mid hāfde. Beóv. 1625.

āgan: Dryhten haelend, þū þe āhst dōma geveald. Elene 726.

sēcan: þā vās eād fynde, þe him elles hvār ge rūmlícor rāste sōhte. Beóv. 138.

Forþon vit laedan sculon teónvit of þisse stōve and unc staðol-vangas rūmor sēcan. Genes. 1911.

beran: Sum heó hire on handum bār. Genes. 636.

niman: Nim þe þis ofet on hand. ibd. 518.

Nāmon hī eac svylce him vealhstōðas of Franclande mid. Beda I, 15.

5. *To ondraedan:*

Naefre ic me ondraede dômas þine Julia. 134. 210.

Ne him on hlyste mycelum ondraedē āviht on ealdre yfeles syddan. Psalm 111, 6.

Dol bið se þe him his dryhten ne ondraedē. Seefahr. 106.

Sceal him manna gehvylc mæn ondraedan. Psalm 63, 8.

Hû him voruldmonna seó unclaene gecynd hearde ondraede. Crist. 1018.

Ne ondraed þû þe. Elene 81.

6. *To some miscellaneous verbs:*

gebiddan: Ic þe nu hâlsige and gebidde me tō þe, þæt þû me gemiltsige. Hymn. III, 48.

(Hi) gebiddað him to þissum beácne = adorant hoc signum. Kreuz 83.

Gebād ic me tō þam beáme. ibd. 122.

ābiddan: And þā Pyhtas heom ābaedon vīf āt Scottum. Sax. Chron.

hleóðrian: Him þā Azarias ingeþoncum hleóðrede hālig. Azarias 2.

sverian: Ne ic me svōr fela āða on unriht. Beóv. 2738. —

Ongunnon him on uhtan āðelcunde mǣgð giervan tō gonge. Höllenf. 1.

Hēt him yðlidan gōdne gegyrvan. Beóv. 198.

Goldhordiað eóv sōðlice gold-hordas on heofenan. Matth. 6, 20.

Bebeorh þe þone bealo-nið. Beóv. 1758.

During the period of transition from the Anglo-Saxon to the modern English, the use of this dative is gradually decreasing. I met yet with this construction in the following instances:

1. *Verbs of rest:*

Up stōð him Judas. Judas 27.

(standan here to be considered as a motion. cf. above „sittan“).

Ferde forð riht anan þer him laei Octa. La3. 18311.

Austin him wunede under ane munede. La3. 29601.

Merlin sāt him stille. La3. 17906.

He sett himm aenes onn munnt. Orm. 5374.

2. *Verbs of motion:*

Eoden heom to raede. La3. 30188.

Cumen heom to-somne. ibd. 15186.

Liden heom to-gāderes. ibd. 18667.

And vorð him gon aerne to þam kinge Vortigerne. La3. 15649.

Ut him gon ride. La3. 17097.

Gon him to fleonne. ibd. 17351.

In him com ur Lord . . . gon. Judas 24.

Fort him com the riche Jeu. ibd. 18.

Connected with „wenden, veorfen, charren and turnen“, I am of opinion that we must consider the reflective case as accusative.

3. *Verbs of spiritual and mental activity:*

The kyng hym gan understonde. Rob. of Gl. Chron. p. 431.
 Heo schulde hem understonde and lene hem wymmen. ibd. pg. 42.
 That he scolde vor Godes love, him bet understonde and graunte
 hem the gode lawes. ibd. pg. 546.
 Tho he him hadde understonde. Thom. a Bek. 1787.

The nature of the reflective case is in all these cases dubious.
 „Bepincen“ has the accusative: „þe king hine biþohte“. La3. 14005.

4. *Verbs of fear:*

That he ne dredde hym sore. Piers Pl. pg. 280.
 I me sore drede. ibd. pg. 386.
 Drede the noughte. Maundev. 4.
 Ne dredd the noght noff me noff mine wordess. Orm. 152.
 Care the nought. Alis. 434.

5. *To speak:*

þus him ispac Octa. La3. A. 19504 (B: þus spac Octa).

6. *Miscellaneous verbs:*

And nom him þa lafdie. La3. 15647.
 To play him with a knyght. Rob. Manning 301, 159. M. I.
 A privei smyþþe bi his celle he gan him biseo. St. Dunstan
 172, 60. M. I.
 The bet the be, the bet the byse. Prov. of Hending 308,
 165. M. I.

In the two last examples I should gladly recognize a dative
 (lat. providere, French pouvoir) if I had not found:

For thi seide Alfred.... Evereuch man the bet him beo Eaver
 the bet he hine biseo. Owl and Nighting. 1267.
 Slep thou the anon. Judas 13. M. I.
 Ar the coc him crowe. ibd. 33.
 Care the nought. Alis. 434.

In this last sentence it is doubtful whether „the“ can be considered as dative. —

In modern English this construction is still more rarely met with and must be considered as a mere archaism. A reflective dative is found only in connection with the verbs: „come, walk, step, stand, sit, stay, fare, mount, fear“. Mätzner (gram. II, 70) adds to these: „hie, haste, repent, joy, shame“, but I am of opinion that the reflective case, which is of no unfrequent occurrence in connection with the last named verbs, is an accusative. For instance, with regard to the modern expression: „he hied him“, let us compare: „And so hygede (= hied) hyne Peter and sothes hy alle“. Will. de Shoreham 229. M. I. With „haste“ it is precisely the same. With regard to „to repent one's self of“, I think the French „se repentir de“ (lat. me poenitet alicujus rei, ich schäme mich einer Sache) is of sufficient moment to consider the reflective

case as accusative. As for „joy“ and „I shame me of“, there is no reason at all to regard the dependent case as a dative.

Examples

of the reflective dative in modern English:

Stand thee by. Then stay thee, Fair, in Ravensheuch. Scott,

Lay of the Last Minstrel 6,23.

He sate him down at a pillar's base. Byron, Siege of Cor. XIX, 1.

They sat them down. Milt. P. L. IV, 327.

Come and sit you down. Haml. III, 4.

Come thee on. Ant. and Cleop. IV, 7.

Sir, step you forth. Cymbel. V, 5.

Fare thee well, and if for ever . . . Byron, Stanz.

Mount thee on the wightest steed. Scott, Last Minst. I, 22.

I fear me. Shak., Two G. of V. II, 7. Coriol. IV, 6. cf. Schmidt,

Shakesp. Diction. I, 407 a.

I think it is unnecessary to enumerate here reflective verbs which are followed by an accusative, in as much as every transitive verb can be turned to such a use. Instead thereof, I will mention a few examples of the use of the genitive of the reflective pronouns in Anglo-Saxon, a construction of which I found no notice taken in any grammar:

He bôð his sylfes. Bî manna môde 28.

And he (Cônnon) þaer his sylfes lange gemyneunge gedyde. Oros. III c. I, § 4.

Vín drincende vaeron ôð hî heora sylfra lytel geveald hæfdon. Oros. II, 4 § 8.

We have yet to speak of those cases in which the use of the reflective verbs encroaches upon the dominion of the intransitive verbs. The unsettled condition of these two classes of verbs is easily explained if we consider that in many cases the activity of the verb is so self-evident, as to preclude all doubts with regard to its reflective nature and then the reflective pronoun is simply omitted as superfluous. This class of verbs is already found in Anglo-Saxon, though not very often; for instance:

cyrran (cf. H. Germ. „heimföhren“ instead of „sich heimföhren“):

On hvilce healfe þû ville cyrran. Genes. 1919.

Cyrrað eft to earde. Phoenix 352.

Onveg cyrdon. Höllenf. 16.

âcyrran: A-cyrrad from Cristes æ. Jul. 411.

gecyrran: Ic tô eov mid siblufan gecyrre. Rebhuhn 8.

Hî on aefenne eft gecyrrað. Psalm 58,14.

vendan (cf. the Middle H. Germ. „wenden“). Se þe nu fram þys vîgplegan vendan þenced. Byrhtnôð 316.

þæt ic vende fram vîge. Byrhtn. 252.

Aer he hionan vende. Metra XVIII, 11.

He vended of þām vîcum. Râthsæl 72,25.

âvendan: Hî âvendan âveg = averterunt se. Psalm 77,57.

gevendan: He gevended on þā vyrsan hand. Sal. and Sat. 500.
 Hvilum hie gevendað on vyrmes lic. Sal. and Sat. 152.

In Semi-Saxon and old English the number of those verbs is increasing, for instance:

hien: Now hyȝe, man. Will. de Shoreh. ed. Wright p. 3.

Hyȝe and help me fyȝte. ibd. p. 82.

But: „hie þe“ Ancren Riwe 32, 11 M. II.

To þe kyng scho gan hir hie. Rob. Man. of Brunne 93.

wenden: Forþ he wende. St. Crist. 114. M. I.

But: He wende him out. Sev. Sages 2287.

He went him down. ibd. 2293.

He wende himm inntill wesste. Orm. 11320.

beoȝen: Ich beih to þe deofle. Anc. Riwe p. 304.

But: He and Borel þe eorl riche buȝen heom to-gāderes. Laȝ.
 26951.

God beih him. Anc. Riwe 23,2. M II.

bowen (with secondary or weak inflection):

Alle bowiden aweye. Wicliffe, Rom. 5,12.

David bowide aside fro the face of Saul. Wicl. I Kings 19,10.

Forsothe Jhesus bowide fro the cumpanye. Wicl. St. John V,13.

The younger manuscript reads here: Jhesu bowide him fro....

wynnen: As ȝe wolde wyne hidere. Sir Gawayne 1537.

He to a hole wyneȝ. ibd. 1569.

If any wyȝe oȝt wyl wyne hider. ibd. 2215.

Ar þai til þe sight of God may wyn. R. R. de Hamp. 3263.

To wyn away. Townl. Myster. p. 287.

But: [And I schal ware alle my wyt to wyne me þeder. Sir
 Gawayne 402.

spācen: þus spac Octa. Laȝ. B. 19504; but Laȝ. A.: þus him
 ispac Octa. —

In modern English the unsettled condition in the use of these verbs has acquired large dimensions. We may distinguish four different classes. In the first place, many verbs which are naturally transitive, may also be used as intransitives and obtain in that case the meaning of the transitive verb used in a reflexive sense, for instance: „He bends the bow“ and „He bends in gratitude to God“. In the latter construction the reflexive pronoun is omitted, because the activity of the verb is so clearly indicated as to preclude all possibility of a misconception. In the second place we find a large number of verbs which can be used at will, with or without the reflexive pronouns; the meaning remains entirely unchanged, or receives only a very slight modification. „He behaves himself well“ and „he behaves well“, „they assembled themselves“ and „they assembled“, express exactly the same thing. But in: „He dresses, he washes“ and „He dresses himself, he washes himself“, there is this difference, that, if I add the reflexive pronoun, I mean to imply, that he performs the act of dressing and washing himself, and not gets washed and dressed by somebody

else. In the third place we find a number of originally reflective verbs which are used to-day only without the reflective pronouns, for instance „to imagine, to abstain“ etc. A reflective is here again superfluous because the reflective sense is perfectly well understood.

Finally we find some few verbs which cannot be used without the reflective pronoun, for instance: „to avail one's self, to pride one's self, to plume one's self, to concern one's self“.

I think I may be allowed to dispense with an enumeration of the verbs belonging to those different classes or to illustrate them with examples; they have only a lexicographic interest. We find them put together in Schmitz, *Engl. gram.* 4 edit. pg. 178 — 180. — I can, however, not omit to mention by the by that in the stage of transition from 1400 — 1500 some instances occur in which the compound tenses of reflective verbs are formed with „to be“ instead of „to have“. This practice is, of course, a gallicism and has obtained no further extension:

Thai scalyt thaim on sic maner, that sum to thair gret bataill
wer withdrawyn thaim in ful gret hy. Barbour, Bruce
IX v. 280 (ils s'étaient retirés).

And haid till erd gane fullyly, ne war he hynt him by his sted.
ibd. II, 229.

And syne is went him to the se. ibd. IX, 692.

Those riotoures . . . were set hem in a taverne for to drinke.
Chaucer, C. T. 12597.

Yet in Shakespeare we read:

The king by this is set him down to sleep. 3 Henry VI, act
IV, 3.

This construction must not be confounded with the very common use in Shakespearean English of „to be“ with intransitive verbs; for instance:

His lordship is walk'd forth. 2 Henry IV, I. 1.

How now, Sir Proteus, are you crept before us? Two G. of V. IV, 1.

My life is run his compass. Jul. Caes. V, 3. cf. Abbot Shak.
gram. pg. 206.

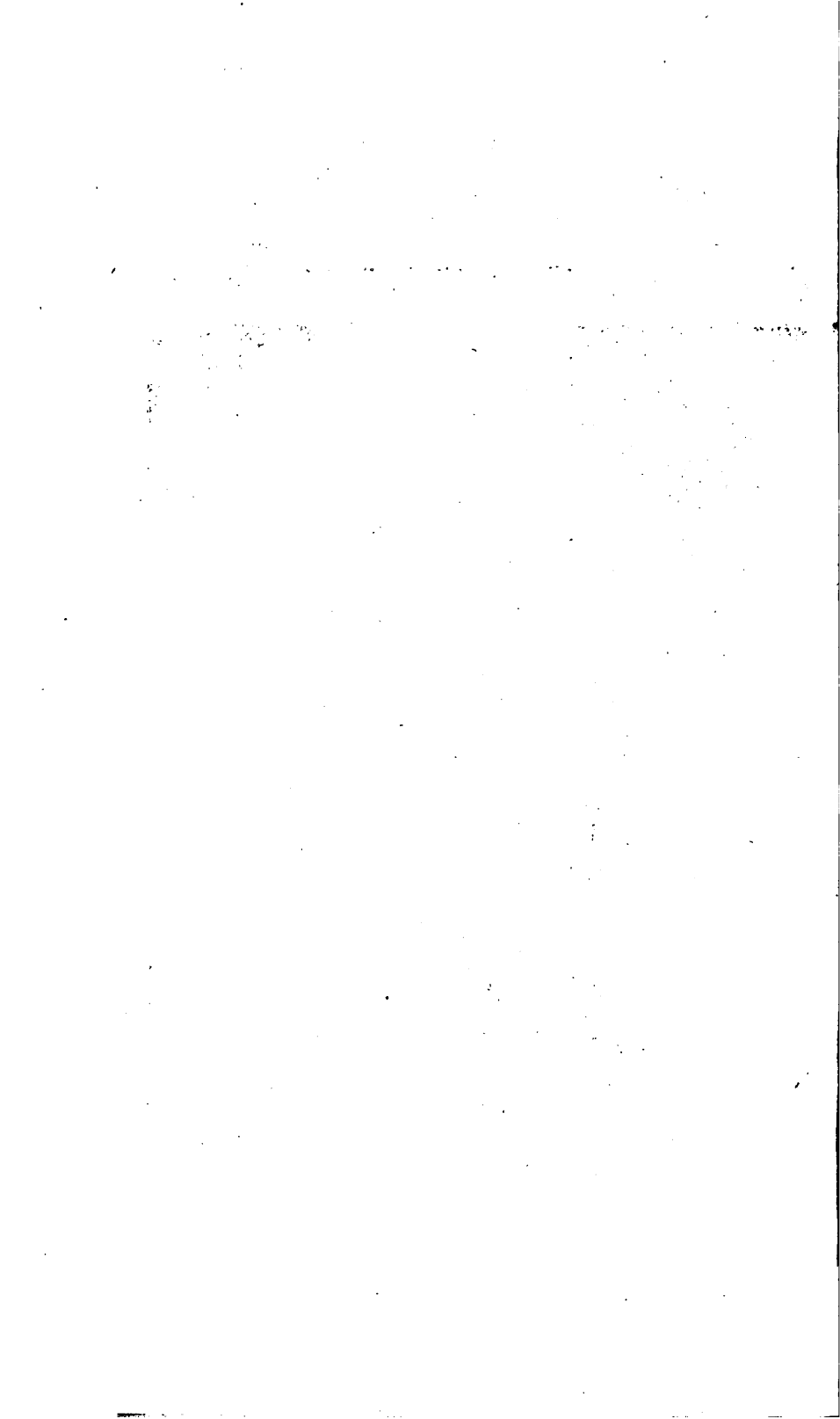


CURRICULUM VITAE.

My name is Gerhard Eberhard Penning. I was born on the 27th of December 1841 at Woltzetzen, a small village situated near the mouth of the river Ems. I am a member of the reformed Protestant church. My father, a minister of the gospel, gave me the first instructions in the rudiments of learning. Eleven years old, I was sent to school and visited in succession the preparatory school at Leer and the gymnasiums at Lingen and Emden. In the year 1861 I passed at the last mentioned place the examination necessary to gain admittance to academical studies. After this I frequented the universities of Basel and of Tübingen, where I applied myself to the study of theology. Circumstances, however, occurred which compelled me to leave my studies unfinished. I became a private teacher. As such I have been living some 7 or 8 years in England, North- and South-America. After my return I held for nearly 2 years the position of head master in the private school for foreigners, conducted by the Rev. Dr. theol. A. Dammann at Hameln. From there I went to Göttingen in order to prepare for an examination in modern languages and history & geography. In the spring of this year I was appointed as teacher at the college (Realschule) of Bremen on the recommendation of Professor Th. Müller.

Te most learned gentlemen, professors Hagenbach, Stähelin, Steffensen at Basel; Beck, Öhler, Weizsäcker at Tübingen; Th. Müller, Pauli, Waiz at Göttingen have been my principal teachers.

I seize this opportunity to proffer them my heartfelt thanks for their instructive lessons. —



An inquiry
into
the origin and different meanings
of
the English particle "but".

By

Hermann Varnhagen, Dr. phil.

✕

Göttingen 1876.

Verlag von Robert Peppmüller.

The aim of this little essay is in the first place to examine, in an etymological point of view, into the origin of the English particle «but»; and in the second to subject the same to three separate and distinct inquiries with respect to its use in the Anglo-Saxon, Old and Modern English.

In the Anglo-Saxon we find the modern »but« under the various forms of būtan, būton, būtun, būta and būte, of which the former two are those most generally met with, »būtun« occurring but seldom and »būta« and »būte« only in the later A. S. (Further particulars with reference to the last two forms will be found pag. 5). These various forms correspond with the O. H. Ger. būzân, O. Sax. biûtan, M. D. būten, N. D. buiten, N. L. Ger. būten, O. Fries. buta, N. Fries. bowtto. As for the etymology of »būtan« we shall pass over in silence such opinions as: »But is primarily a participle« (Webster 1828; The imperial Dict. 1854!) or: »But is the imperative of the Sax. beon utan«, opinions which do not deserve attention, for it is now generally allowed that »būtan« is compounded out of »be« and »ûtan«. »Be« is an abbreviated form for the A. S. bi, big, bî; it is the Goth. bi, O. H. Ger. pf, pi, O. Sax. bi, bē, O. Engl. bi, by, bie, be, Mod. Engl. by. As for its further relation to the other Indo-German languages, Mr. Bopp cites the Sanscrit preposition à-bhi, Gr. -φι, Lat. ibi. — »Be« was originally an adverb, denoting

nearness, closeness, although there are no examples of its being thus used in A. S.; some traces however of its being used in this way are to be found in the application of »be« as prefix (beginnan, behaes). »Be« occurs only as a preposition, generally governing the dative and seldom the accusative, and indeed has very different meanings, (cf. Ettmüller, Lex. A. S. p. 280; Grein, Bibliothek der Angels. Poesie, III, 78. 121); but as all prepositions primarily represent local relations and only secondarily and metaphorically relations of time, cause and mode, we find its original meaning to be: juxta.

The second of the elements, from the compounding of which »bûtan« has arisen, is »ûtan« or »ûton«, which is derived from »ûte« or »ût«. According to Mr. Bopp the A. S. »ût« corresponds with the Sanskrit »ût« = on, upward; the Gothic form is »ût«, O. H. Ger. ûz, uz, O. Sax. ût, Mod. Engl. out, N. H. Ger. aus. From the adding of the suffix »a« to »ut« arises the Goth. and O. Sax. »ût-a« = abroad; in A. S. the suffix »a« has been shortened into »e«, »ût-e« (O. H. Ger. »ûze«). But these two words, »ût« and »ûte«, which originally had different meanings, have been already confounded at a very early period and are used in A. S. quite indifferently. We find a striking analogy in the particle »in«; »inn-e« (Goth. inn-a) has been formed in the same manner as »ût-e« and was afterwards used in exactly the same sense as the simple »in«. «ûte« or »ûte« is mostly used as adverb of place, = foras; f. i. waes ûte (Luc. 1, 10); ðodon hig ute (Joh. 8, 9). As preposition it occurs but seldom; I have only found one example: ûte cyrican (Ettm. Lex. p. 70). A derivative of »ût« or »ûte«, formed by the adjoining of the suffix »an« is »ûtan«. Besides »ûtan« we find the secondary form »ûton«, which is to be explained by a darkening of the

vowel »Ūtan« (ūton), as »ūt« (ūto) is generally used as adverb = extrinsecus, f. i. ūtan and innan (Cādm. Gen. 677), seldom as preposition, governing the dative and sometimes the accusative case.

A compound of these two particles »be« and »ūtan« is the A. S. būtan. Besides the three forms above mentioned we find already in the later period of A. S. the forms »būta« and »būte«, having the meaning of »būtan«. Mr. Grimm is of the opinion that these forms are solely abbreviations of »būtan«. Another explication published in »Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen« VI, 386 by Mr. Piltz is that »būta« and »būte« are compounds of »be« and »ūta« (ūte). It is as difficult to bring forward any real proofs against this proposition of Mr. Piltz, as it has proved for that gentleman to bring forward in support of his opinion. Mr. Grimm's explication is however simpler and more natural, and has also been adopted by our modern etymologists, f. i. Mr. Müller in his »Etymologisches Wörterbuch der engl. Sprache«.

I. The use of "būtan" in A. S.

It results from the very origin of »būtan« as a contraction of »be-ūtan«, that the original meaning of this particle is »near-outside«, viz. it denotes that something is near another thing, but at the same time, outside it.

«Būtan» as adverb.

»Būtan« was originally an adverb of place with the sense of: outside, without, contrary to A. S. binnan = within; but it was as adverb seldom used, »ūt« being mostly employed: I have only found two examples of »būtan« being used as adverb. And þaer waes ungemet wael geslaegen Nordanhymbra sume binnan, sume būtan (Sax. Chr. 867).

Hē ðode buta (D. Marc. 14, 68). — In passages such as: Aelc man ge binnan burgum ge būtan (Eādg. II, 1) »būtan« is not to be considered as adverb, but as preposition, the object of which is to be supplied.

“Būtan” as preposition.

Already at a very early period »būtan« was used as preposition and originally in accordance with its original local meaning, as local preposition, governing the dative case, with the meaning of the modern preposition »without« in the sense of »outside«, denoting rest as well as movement. Aehta and āgend . . . þā be-ūtan beōð earce bordum (Cādm. Gen. 1353); Hig vaeron būtan birig (Aelfr. Gen. 44, 4). (Se gehālgoda sacerð) forbārne þāt celf būtan þære vicstōve! (Aelfr. Lev. 4, 21). Ic ville, þāt . . . nān man ne ceāpige būtan porte (Legg. Eadv. I, 2). — Laedde hine būtan þā vic (Marc. 8, 23). Āwurpon hine būta þære ceastra (D. Luc. 4, 29).

From the idea of being without in a local sense arose the same idea in a figurative sense; therefore »būtan« denotes an exception of a whole or a general idea and therefore has the meaning of praeter, except, excepting. Ealle būton ānum (Beov. 705). And ālc þing, þe lif hāfde, veard āðyð, būton þām ānum, þe binnan þam arce vaeron (Aelfr. Gen. 7, 23). Eall hira hīvraeden būtan geongum litlingum and heordum (ib. 50, 8). On þaem waeron eac þa men of-slaegene buton fifum (Sax. Chr. 897). Ymb fyrst vucan būtan ānre niht (Menol. 87). Him on mōð be-arn, þāt he . . . volde . . . eall gedaelan . . . svylc him god sealde, būton folcscare and feorum gumena (Beov. 67).

When the general idea referred to by »būtan« stands in the dative case, it is doubtful whether the dative following »būtan« depends on »būtan« or on the verb governing the general idea of the principal sentence; f. i. Ne

ic þām sâvlum ne môt aenigum scedðan būtan þām ânum, þe he tô âgen nyle (Cædm. Sat. 145); »þām ânum« depends either on »būtan« used as preposition, or on »scedðan«; in the latter case »būtan« would be used as elliptical conjunction. We have the same case in the following example: Naefre ic aenegum men aer âlŷfde . . . þryðærn Dena būton þe nu þā (Beov. 655); Mr. Heyne believes »būton« here to be a preposition, and Mr. Grein a conjunction. We shall have occasion to speak afterwards about this elliptical use of »būtan«. Here we need only remark that it seems almost impossible to decide in each case, whether »būtan« is to be regarded as preposition or as conjunction.

The preposition »būtan« occurs equally in this sense in numerals, where it is used as the Latin »de«; f. i. ymb twentig wintra būtan ân (Beda 5, 19).

From this restricted privative meaning taken together with the original local meaning there arises the general privative meaning »sine«. The transition from the restricted to the general privative meaning is made by the omission of the general idea, an exception of which was originally introduced by »būtan«, and the transition from the local to the general privative meaning is formed by examples such as: Gif hit unvitan aenige hvile healdað butan hæftum, hit etc. (Sal. and Sat. 410). Instances of the general privative meaning are: Þāt vās gevorden butan veres frigum (Crist 37). His lif vās eal būton synnum (A. S. Hom. I, 26). God vās mid us geseven butan synnum (Crist 124). Aer ðam daege butan sunnan and monan and eallum steorrum (Wr. Pop. tr. p. 4). Feoh butan gevitte (Sal. and Sat. 23). Â būton ende (Cædm. Sat. 315). Butan anginne aefre (Crist 111), etc.

This general privative meaning is still transgressed by another of its meanings, where it almost denotes an op-

position. This use, it is true, occurs but seldom. Ellþeódiges nu butan leóðrihte lārum hýrað (Andr. 678).

“Butan” as conjunction.

From the preposition »būtan« with the original metaphorical meaning »except«, there arises the conjunction »būtan«, the original meaning of which is the same. This gradual transition of the preposition to the conjunction may be illustrated by the following passages: And eall, þāt þe styrað and leofað, beoð eóv tō mete, svā svā grōvende vryta ic betaehte ealle eóv, būton þam ānum, þāt ge flaesc mid blōde ne eton (Aelfr. Gen. 9, 3 and 4); »būtan« in this passage is still the simple preposition, but the whole formula »būton þam ānum þāt« has the character of a conjunctive phrase connecting a whole sentence to the preceding one. A step further in this direction has been made in the following passages: (þāt fār) heá vās āhafen on þā heán lyft, þā se ēgorhere eorðan tuddor eall ācvealde, būton þāt earce bord heóld heofona freá (Cādm. Gen. 1401). Hit ne maeg tō nāhte, būton þaet hit sý ūt-āworpen (Mt. 5, 13). In these two passages the demonstrative pronoun has been omitted, but the conjunction »þāt« has been retained; this »būtan þāt« still occurs frequently in A. S. as well as in Old and in Mod. Engl. By omitting as well »þāt«, »būtan« becomes a simple conjunction. Other instances of the same kind of transition of the preposition to the conjunction are to be found with the A. S. aēr, aefter, biforan etc.

Also in the following examination of the conjunction »būtan« do not let us forget that the original meaning of this word is »except« and that, in consequence, the accessory sentence introduced by »būtan« denotes an exception of the thought expressed by the principal sentence; in almost all its uses the word may be explained from this meaning. We must endeavour to distinguish two kinds of exceptions.

Either the accessory sentence introduced by »bûtan« denotes an exception which is represented as really existing in the present, the past or the future; in other words it really restricts the meaning of the principal sentence. In this case it is natural that »bûtan« should be followed by the mood of reality, viz. the indicative mood. Or the accessory sentence expresses an exception inasmuch as it asserts that there will be an exception concerning the validity of the principal sentence, should the thought expressed by the accessory sentence be realized. In short the accessory sentence is in this case the negative antecedent of a conditional sentence. Therefore it has not the character of reality or a real representation, but of a reflective one; therefore »bûtan« in this case requires the subjunctive mood.

Accordingly, in denoting these two kinds of exceptive sentences we make use of the terms, for the former of: real exceptive sentence, for the latter of: conditional exceptive sentence.

a. The real exceptive sentence.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

þæt vās vaepna cyst, bûton hit vās mare, þonne aenig mon ôðer tō beadulāce ātberan meahthe (Beov. 1659) In this instance the subject of the two sentences is the same; the subjects may also be different: Her on þissum geare ealle þa yldestan Angel cynnes witan gefeollan . . of anre upfloran, butan se halgan Dunstan arcebiscop ana aetstood uppon anum beame (Sax. Chr. 978). And ða agangen waes tyn hund wintra geteled rimes . . . buton ðaer to lafe þa agan waes wintergeteles . . . seofon and twentig. — »Bûtan þæt« occurs in the passage quoted above: þa se ēgorhere eorðan tuddor eall ācvealde, buton þæt earce bord heöld heofona freá (Cādm. Gen. 1402).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

On þissum geare naes nan faereld to Rome buton twegen hleaperes Aelfred cyng sende mid gewritum (Sax. Chr. 889).

We here quote the following passage: Nyston sorga viht tō begornianne, butan heo godes villan lengest laesten (Cādm. Gen. 243). Here ›butan‹ is followed by the subjunctive mood, although the accessory sentence is not the antecedent of a conditional sentence at all. We must rather consider the sentence as a real exceptive one, influenced and modified by the involved subjective reflexion. For the accessory sentence couples itself freely to the substantive ›sorga‹ and the subjunctive mood has been caused by the idea of the activity of mind involved in the word ›sorga‹.

3. *Interrogative principal sentence.* — No example has occurred to me.

b. The conditional exceptive sentence.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

Ic þät gesverige þurh . . . þät þu . . . scealt . . . cvylmed veorðan, butan þu forlaete þā leásunga (Elene 686). . . . þät ve tîres vone â butan ende sculon ermðu dreógan, butan þu usic . . . hreddan ville (Crist 270). Nu bið fore þreó niht, þät he . . . sceal . . . gâst onsendan . . . butan þu aer cyme (Andr. 185). þa gife ic him Godes curs . . . buton he cume to daedbote (Sax. Chr. 963). Bûte ge tō him gecyrren, se deófol cvecð his sveord tō eóv (Ps. 7, 12). Ic hine hræðlice heardan clammum on vâlbedde vrîðan þohte, þät he for mundgripe mînum scolde liegoan lifbysig, bûtan his lîc svice (Beov. 963).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

Ne mæg þät gôð beón getymbrod bûton þät yfel beó aer tôvorpen (A. S. Hom. I, 144). Ne maeg man þone

strangan his âehta and his fata bereáfian, and on his hús gân, buton man þane strangan aêrest gebinde (Mrc. 3, 27). Buton þâ dagas gescyrte vaeron, naere nân man hâl gevorden (Math. 24, 22). Bûton hvâ beó ednivan gecenned, ne mäg he geseón Godes rice (Joh. 3, 3). Náfdest þu nâne mihte ongeán me, bûton hyt vaere þe ufan geseald (Joh. 19, 11).

3. *Interrogative principal sentence, with the expectation of an answer in the negative.*

The complete accessory sentence is almost only used, when it refers to the whole principal sentence.

Ac hvaer cymð heó nu, buton þu engla god eft hig âlÿse sâvle of synnum . . .? (Hym. und Geb. VII, 6). Cvyست þu dêmð ðre ae aenigne man, bûton hyne man aer gehyre? (Joh. 7, 51). Hû mäg man in-gân on stranges hús, and hys fata hyne bereáfjan, bûton he gebinde acrest þone strangan? (Math. 12, 29). Hvät mäg ic dôn, bûton me god vísige? (Aelfr. Gen. 41, 16).

In conditional exceptive sentences >bûtan þät< occasionally occurring in real exceptive ones, is not met with.

When the accessory sentence refers only to the interrogative pronoun, the elliptical „bûtan“ is mostly made use of, which we are now about to speak of.

c. The elliptical use of „bûtan“.

Instead of being employed in a complete accessory sentence, >bûtan< may be used also in an elliptical one; when the verb of the accessory sentence is the same as in the principal one, it can be omitted in the former, to spare its repetition.

It is evident that this elliptical use is admitted in the same cases as in complete sentences, viz.

1. *After affirmative principal sentences.*

þonne ic vât þätte vile voruldmén tveógan geond fol-dan sceát buton feá âne (Aelfr. Metra IV, 51).

2. *After negative principal sentences.*

He . . . secgan hȳrde . . . vīde sīðas, þāra þe gumena bearn gearwe ne viston faehðe and fyrene, būton Fitela mid hine (Beov. 875). Þāt ne vāt aenig monna cynnes buton meotod āna (Phoen. 357). Nān man nāt, būton faeder āna (Joh. 13, 22). And swa ic hit freo þet nan biscop ne haue þaer nane haese, buton se abbot of þone minstre (Sax. Chr. 963). Nys hēr nān þing būton godes hūs (Aelfr. Gen. 28, 17). Þis naefre þurh aeniges mannes mūd gehȳrdon hāledum cȳðan butan her nu þā (Elene 659). And heora nan naefð naenne leoman buton of ðære sunnan leoman (Wr. Pop. tr. 3). Naefre buton on niwum monan (ib. 6). Ne nan mann ne nyten naefð nane orðunge buton þurh þaet lyft (ib. 17). Ne nom he . . . mād̃m-aehta mā . . . būton þone hafelan (Beov. 1612). — The use of »būtan« after a comparative in a negative sentence, as in the preceding passage is to be explained from the prevailing of the negative over the comparative, the elliptical sentence not being annexed to the comparative, but to the whole negative sentence. In the same manner the use of »būtan« after negative or negatively interrogative sentences with »oþer« can be explained. The negative sense prevails: thence the use of »būtan«: Cviðt þu, mæg ic oðre spreca, būton pāt drihten hēt? (Aelfr. Num. 23, 12). Þonne beó þaer nān oðre būton pāt he gange tō þam þryfealdan ordāle (Legg. Cnut. I, B. 27). — We here remark that in A. S. we find »oder« followed either by »būtan« or »nymfe«, but not by »þonne«, as in Mod. Engl. »than«. In Latin negative comparatives are never followed by »nisi«. After »alius« with a negative, the Latin has either »nisi« f. i. Erat historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio (Cic. de orat. 2, 12, 52) or answering to the »than« of Old and Mod. Engl. »quam«

f. i. Virtus nihil aliud est quam in se perfecta natura (Cic. Leg. 1, 8, 25).

This use has extended itself also to *»elles«*, representing like *»oðer«* a comparative difference: Hvâ ârist elles of Sion bûtan þu? (Ps. 13, 11).

3. *After interrogative sentences, when an answer in the negative is expected.*

Hvât sindan þâ gimmas svâ scyne buton god sylfa? (Crist 694). Hvylic is mihtig god butan ure se maera god? (Ps. 76, 11). Hvât is hiora here buton se hlîsa ân? (Aelfr. Metra X; 54).

The above mentioned case deserves especial attention, when *»bûtan«* refers to a dative of the principal sentence. We here consider this peculiar case without regard to the nature of the principal sentence. Se is âthvâm freónd . . butan dracan ânum (Panth. 15). Naefre ic aenegum men aer âlyfde . . þryðárn Dena bûton þe nu þâ (Beov. 655). þu me . . vordum naegest, fûsne frígnest, þás þe ic furðum aer aefre in ealdre aengum ne volde monna ofer molderdan melda veorðan þegne on þeóde, butan þe nu þâ (Guthl. 1200). He . . . nele lâðes viht aengum geáfnan bûtan þam âttorsceaðan (Panth. 31). Ne ic þâm sâvlum ne môt aenigum sceððan butan þam ânum, þe etc. (Satæn 145). — Svâ is dryhten god dreáma raedend eallum eáðmêdum^e ôðrum gesceaftum, butan dracan ânum (Panth. 55). These passages illustrate the difficulty of determining whether *»bûtan«* is to be regarded as preposition or as conjunction. It seems even impossible to determine this in each case. But from the inner nature of the word there seems to result the general rule, that in affirmative sentences with the idea of generality *»bûtan«* is mostly to be regarded as preposition; that in negative sentences however it is to be taken as conjunction. We have ventured to give the latter part of

this rule, no example having occurred to us of »bûtan« being followed in a negative sentence by a substantive, which can be distinguished by its inflective form as a dative, and can only depend on »bûtan«, used as preposition. Instances, it is true, such as: Nys oðer buton him (Mrc. 12, 32) are of occasional occurrence, in which at first sight »bûtan« seems to be used as preposition, since the pronoun would otherwise be in the nominative. Let us however remember that the change of the objective cases of the personal pronouns with the nominative is already found in A. S.; f. i. he is strengra þon mēc (Math. 3, 11), so that instances such as that mentioned above, are wanting in confirmatory power.

The conjunction »bûtan« is likewise found, although seldom in affirmative general sentences, f. i. Ic vāt þätte vile voruldmēn tveógan geond foldan sceát buton feá áne (Aelfr. Metra IV, 51), where, as it results from »bûton feá áne« »voruldmēn« is to be taken in the sense of »ealle voruldmēn«.

Lastly we have to mention the case when »bûtan« is followed by another conjunction (except »þät« in the usual combination »bûtan þät«); this is a simple contraction of two accessory sentences. Fägerre leóht þonne ve aefre aer eágum gesávon, buton þá ve mid englum uppe vaeron (Cädm. Satan 389). Svylce eác vide cûðymb þreó and tvá þeódum gevelhvaer his cymē Kalend ceorlum and eorlum butan þanne bises geboden veorðe feórdan geære (Menol. 29). Similar is the passage: Hvät magon we secgean bûton þät hī scotedon svīde? (Sax. Chr. 1083), where »þät« introduces the objective sentence, depending on »secgean«. In the passage: þeóf ne cymð bûton þät he stele (Joh. 10, 10) »þät« serves to introduce an accessory sentence expressing intention.

II. The use of "but" in Old Engl.

We will now consider the use of our particle in the O. Engl. period. »We comprehend the whole period from about the end of the 12th century down to the close of the Middle Ages or to the Elizabethan age by the name of Old Engl.« (Mätzner, Eng. Gr. 2nd edition I, p. 7). We have not admitted of the subdivision of this period into the so called Semi-Saxon or New-Anglo-Saxon and Middle English stages, for as to the former, »although here the gradual blending and blotting out of the inflective forms of declension and conjugation, the phonetic change, the attenuation of the words, the gradually increasing first admission and assimilation of French words etc. become visible, yet the transition to the later period is nevertheless not such a decided one, nor so dependent on new momenta, that we could believe an exactly limited separation of the so called Semi-Saxon to be admissible« (ib.). And as for the so called Middle English »it is to be taken into consideration that a great change of the English with regard to its grammatical forms has not indeed taken place at the middle of the 14th century« (ib. p. 8).

Our particle occurs in the different stages of this period and in the different dialects under very different forms: butan, buton, buten, bouten, boten, beoten, bute, bout, bote, but, bout, bot; but as to the first syllable the differences of these forms are for the most part only graphical ones.

"But" as adverb.

»But« as adverb, already rarely found in A. S., as we have seen, has been almost totally suppressed in Old Engl. There are only very few examples of its use in this way. Hit was swuþe mouchel scome . . . þat scholde a quene beon king in þisse londe, and heora sunen beon buten

(Lay. I, 159). The signe hiis that hys bouthe ydo, That thyngge hys grace bynne (Shoreh. p. 40).

“But” as preposition.

As preposition ›but‹ has been restricted in O. Engl. It does not exist any longer in the local meaning, but only in the metaphorical one, taken in its restricted and totally privative signification. As for the former it is still more difficult in this period of the vanishing of the inflective forms to determine, whether ›but‹ is to be considered as preposition or as elliptical conjunction. The general principle, established in the above inquiry, is also here of validity: After affirmative sentences implying the idea of generality, ›but‹ is mostly to be taken as preposition; so in the following sentences. *ƿe al her auelde . . . buten Noe and Sem* (Lay. I, 2). *Alle he heom sumunde and to wode sende, bote seoue ƿusend kempen* (ib. I, 19). *Euch sunne . . . is wiðute ƿe bodi bute ƿis ane* (Hali meidenh. p. 35). *Alle bute Gogmagog* (Rob. of Gl. p. 22). *He ys knyghtes echone for cost bynyme hym alle, bute a fyue men one* (ib. p. 33). *All shal be fordone that lif in land bot ye* (Town. Myst. p. 23).

After negative sentences ›but‹ is always to be regarded as conjunction = *nisi*. Instances such as: *nat tah na mon bute ham self hwat ham sticheð ofte* (Hali meidenh. p. 9) are to be explained in the same manner as in A. S., the change of the objective cases with the nominative likewise occurring in O. E., f. i. *ƿe biscopp self ƿaer sholde cumenn o ƿe ƿer ann siƿe, all himm ane* (Orm. 1025); *ƿer restid ƿam doun* (P. Langt. 1896).

That however, whenever ›but‹ follows an affirmative sentence implying generality it may not be concluded that ›but‹ is to be considered as proposition, is proved by the

occurring of the word as conjunction in this case; f. i. He saide alle shalle be slayn bot oonely we (Town. Myst. p. 28), although indeed the change of the nominative with the accusative is likewise occasionally met with in O. Engl.

In its totally privative meaning we very often find »but« in the earlier stage of O. E. We choose a few instances out of the great number. Buten anne sunne (Lay. I, 5). Bute bruche (H. meidenh. p. 11). Buten reowde (S. Marh. p. 6). Buten vit (ib.). Buten rest (ib. p. 9). Bute anne craft (Owl and N. 792). Butenn rihht rewwsunge (Orm. 9882). Butenn spæche (ib. H. 222). Bûten live (Kath. 252). Bouten ende (Wr. Pop. tr. p. 132). Bout blame (Syr. Gaw. I, 11, 361). Boute hone (ib. 1285). Boute spyt more (ib. 1444). Boute blame (Morris, Allit. P. A. 621).

In the later stage of this period »but« is much less used in this meaning; it is supplied by »withouten«. It however entirely disappears only at the end of this period.

Here the combination »ðor buten« twice occurring in »The story of Genesis and Exodus« 566 and 3625, is to be made mention of; at least I have not found it anywhere else. In those passages »ðor buten« means »thereabout«, »buten« being only a shortening of »abuten«, in the same manner as in that text »gen« occurs instead of »agen« and »mong« instead of »among«.

“But” as conjunction.

a. The real exceptive sentence.

In these the use of »but«, »but that« is not frequent as we have already seen in A. S.; other conjunctions being generally made use of.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

Forr himm birrþ beon full clene mann, and all wiþþutenn

ahhte, Butan þatt nann himm findenn shall Unnorne mete and waede (Orm. 6334). Hit wes him swide iqueme and alle his beornen, bute Conaan wes swide wraed (Lay. 11612). Alle dronken of þe beer, Bute horn alone Nadde þerof no mone (King Horn 1112). þu art hire ilich of alle þinge . . . But þu ert a man and heo a maide (Fl. and Bl. 52). He was þe noblest, bote þat he Cristene nas (Rob. of Gl. 1611).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

The cat ne kan wrench bute anne, Nother be dune ne bi venne; Bute he can climbe suthe wel (Owl and N. 429). God doth not but tretith us (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp.¹) I, b, 231). Thou dost nought elles but dispendest time (Ch. C. T. 13859).

Thence arises the use of ›but‹ in such cases as in Syr Gaw., ed. Madden, p. 207, 11: He had not taryed with her longe, But there came a knyght tall and stronge. — Here ›but‹ denotes an exceptive relation only inasmuch as the sentence introduced by ›but‹ expresses an action that breaks in upon the action expressed in the preceding sentence; it assimilates itself somewhat to the meaning of the Latin ›quin‹. However in O. E. this use is still very rare.

3. *Interrogative principal sentence.* — No instance has occurred to me.

b. The conditional exceptive sentence.

To ›bûtan‹ and ›bûtan þät‹ of the A. S. there have been added in O. E. ›but if‹ and ›but if that‹. The former is to be explained elliptically, the latter by a double ellipsis = except if it happens that. ›But‹ and ›but if‹ are most frequently met with and seem in most of the texts to be used to the same extent together, although some writers have a predilection for one or the other of these particles, Orm f. i. for ›but if‹.

1) Spp. = Mätzner, Altenglische Sprachproben.

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

a. "But".

þu aert al dead, buten þou do mine read (Lay. I, 30).
 Bute ich veorri a wið the riht vise of the unselic sun fule
 me thunched ich am al siker (S. Marh. p. 13). ziff þu
 takesst twizzess an Annd ekesst itt till fowwre, þu finndest,
 butt an wunnderr be, þe fulle tale off sexe (Orm. 16352).
 Hit reaueð ham þe hehe riche of heuene bute ha poure
 beon (H. Meid. p. 31). To-morgen, bute he mugen vt-phar-
 ren, Egyptes erf sal al forfaren (Gen. and Ex. 3018). And
 zet beoð hire word put, buten heo beo þe bet biset (Ancr.
 R. p. 58). Elch man þe hem doð, bute he hem forlete, and
 bete ar his ende dai, he sal forlesen eche liht (Serm. Spp.
 I, b, 50). Ich hire love, hit mot me spille, Bot ich gete
 hire to mi wille (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 110). Thine lif-
 dayes beth al a-go, Bote thou bi mine rede do (Vox and
 Wolf, Spp. I, a, 133). Plente me may in Engeland of al
 gode yse, Bute folc yt forgulte (R. of Gl. I, 1). Bote y he
 þerof awreke, y schall dye for sore (ib. I, 18). Bote he
 dude by tyme, he wolde sende hym oþer tyþyng (ib. II,
 357). Bute he him zeue leue He wule him boþe bete and
 reue (Fl. and Bl. 245). Wel sone, bute þu flitte, Wiþ
 swerde ihc þe anhitte (K. Horn 711). Bote þise your benes
 of him we ne habbe, we byeþ dyade (Ayenb. p. 110); (as
 for »bote . . . ne«, see below). Bute holy chirche and hii
 Holde bettere togidres, The moste meschief on molde Is
 mountyng wel faste (P. Ploughm. 131). Suche fruyt,
 thorghe the whiche every man is saved, but it be his owne
 defaute (Maundev. p. 3). Treuely, treuely, I seye to gou,
 no but the corne of wheet fallynge into the erthe schal be
 deade, it dwellith alone (Wycl. John 12, 24). (We after-
 wards shall have occasion to speak about this »no but«,
 which often occurs in Wycliffe's translation). I pray to

God that I mot sterve wood, But I be to yow al so good
and trewe, As ever was wyf (Ch. C. T. 6824). But I be
to morrow as fair to seen As eny lady, emperesse, or
queen, . . . Doth by my lyf right even as yow lest (ib.
6827). But I in other wise may be wrecke, I schal defame
him over al (ib. 7793). Bot thou do, bi this day, Thi hede
schalle I breke (Town. Myst. p. 30).

b. "but that."

Freoliche þas twein brotherne heolden þas eorldomes,
buten þat heo icneowen þone king fore heore herre (Lay.
I, 306). He wolde al þis kine-lond setten on heore hond,
bute þat hi icleoped weore king of þan londe (ib. III, 253).
Myn handwerk to sle sore grevyth me, But that here synne
here deth doth brewe (Cov. Myst. p. 43). Forthwyth there
I had hym slayne But that I drede mordre wolde come
oute (Skelton I, 50). The knight . . . schuld have lost his
heed . . . But that the queen and other ladies mo So longe
preyeden thay the kyng of grace, Til he his lif hath graunt-
ed in the place (Ch. C. T. 6474).

Instead of ›but that‹ we also find ›but what‹ in the
later stage. More coude I saye, but what this is ynowe
(Skelton I, 48). The explanation of this idiom is difficult.
Mr. Koch is of the opinion, that perhaps ›but what‹ has been
put instead of ›but that that‹. I am not able to give a
better explanation.

In the two last passages, the sequence of tenses is
different from the ordinary one, taking place in conditional
sentences implying irreality; this anomalous sequence of
tenses serves to emphasize the reality of the antecedent
that prevents the realization of the consequent. ›But
that‹ answers completly to the Latin ›nisi quod‹ and the
German ›nur daß‹; cf. et fecisset, nisi quod felicius ju-
cundiusque est (Plin. paneg. 86, 5).

c. "but if".

He slaþ hiss azhenn sawle Butt iff he muzhe betenn itt (Orm. 4439). þu best forworppenn att te dom, Butt iff þūt muzhe betenn (ib. 9077), ib. 10035; 17751. Bute yef þu svike ham, mi sveord schaluorsvelten . . . þi flesch (S. Marh. p. 5). Iðen ilke huse oðer þer he muwe iseon touward ou, sitte þe þridde, bute zif þe ilke þridde oðer stunde trukie (Anc. Riwe, p. 68). Euerich urideie of ðe yer holdeð silence, bute zif hit beo duble feste (ib. p. 70). ib. p. 344. þat feorðe (werce of þesternesne) is unrihte lufe, þat is hordom, and midliggunge þe men drigen bitwenen hem, bute yef he ben lageliche bispusede, þat is unriht (Sermons, Spp. I, b, 50). Bote if hoe wende hire mod, For serewe mon ich wakese wod, Other miselve quelle (D. Siriz, Spp. I, a, 108). Leue askede (iacob) hem hom to faren Wið wiues and childre ðeden charen, But if laban him ðelde bet His seruise (Gen. and Exod. 1711), In euerilc welle, in euerilc trike, men funden blod al witterlike, But-if it were in ðe land of gersen (ib. 2947). þe wone . . . may wel wende to zenne dyadliche, bote yef he him ne loki (Ayenb. p. 6). He wyle by mayster ope God, zuo þet al þet God ðeþ ine erþe bote yef he hit ne do al to his wylle, an haste he grocheþ aye God (ib. p. 68). The two last instances are remarkable, because »bote yef« is accompanied by the negative »ne«. This strengthening is often met with in the »Ayenbite«, also after »bote«. The negative »ne« is a doubling of the negative already expressed by the exceptive particle. The cause of this use is the desire of emphasis and the doubling of a negative is an idiom quite common in O. Engl. (cf. also below under: negative principal sentence). — Other instances of the use of »but if«: þe affeccyone of lufe es tendir, and lyghtly will vanysche awaye, bot if it be wele kepide and by gud

dedis bodyly or gastely contenualy nuresched (Rolle de Hamp. Spp. I, b, 142). Ib. I, b, 130. And wyte zee wel, that a man oughte to take gode kepe for to bye bawme, but zif he cone knowe it righte wel (Maundev. p. 51). And thanne schalle every man have affir his dissert, outhur gode or evylle, but zif the mercy of God passe his rightewisnesse (ib. p. 115). I-wis but if I have my wille For derne love of the, lemman, I spille (Chauc. C. T. 3277). Woo was his cook, but if his sauce were Poynaunt and scharp, and redy al his gere (Chauc. C. T. 351). Muche wonder me thinketh But if many a preest beere . . . A peire of bedes in hir hand (P. Ploughm. p. 302). The prynce, whose mynd in tender youth infect, shal redily fal to mischief and riot . . ., but if grace turn him to wisdom (Th. More, Description of Richard III., in »Five centuries of Engl. lang. and lit.« p. 116).

d. "but if that".

He muñde þaer Tobrisenn all himm sellfenn, Butt iff þatt God him hulle þaer (Orm. 12031). Ib. 12195. He ne may naȝt ine guode manere ofhealde þet he wynþ, ac ssel hit yeue uor Godes loue, bote yef þet hit by ine zuyche manere þet he hit hedde mid barat (Ayenbite, p. 46). I am but ded but if that I can sayn What thing is it that wommen most desire (Chauc. C. T. 6588). Rut if that the woman were, This worldes joie were away (Gower, ed. Pauli 576). But yf þat god wolle graunte grace, y schalle rehercy in þis place Alle þe kynges (Arthur 637).

Remarkable is the use of »bote on that« for the introduction of a conditional sentence in the following passage: Dame, God the for-zelde, Bote on that thou me nout bimelede, Ne make the wroth, Min hernde willi to the bede (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 106); »on that« seems to be used here in a similar way as expressions such as »on condition that«.

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

a. "but".

It is used either as the Latin «nisi» or passing more or less completely into the meaning of the Latin »quin«.

Ne mihte hit iwurden þat Bruttes ne musten reosen buten heo raed haneden (Lay. III, 63). Naem ich naeuere bute care, buten ich ligge faste biclused inne castle (ib. II, 167). I segge þe þatt niss nan man onn erþe þatt mughe Godess riche sen Butt he be borenn twizess (Orm. 16632). Wel ofte ich sike and sorwe make, ne mai ich nevere blin-nen, Bote thu, thruh thin milde mod bringe me out of sunne (Hymns, Spp. I, a, 54). Nullich þet no mon iseo ou bute he habbe leaue speciale of ower meistre (Anchr. Riwle, p. 56). Bot ze nul, god nel zou spare (Ten Com-mand. Spp. 1. a, 129). — The last instance has the same addition in strength of »but« by a negative that we have already found in the »Ayenbite« and that is of occasional occurrence also in other texts. — Hy ne miztte nou len-gour liþe, Bote here heddre were i-take. (The Vox and the Wolf; Spp. I, a, 133). Therefore me sizth nozt such thing, bote hit beo in hete (Wr. Pop. treat. p. 135). He ne schulde mid hire be, bute it one were (Rob. of Gl. p. 33). Ac ne mot þer non ben inne þat one þe breche bereþ þe ginne, Noþer bi daie ne binigt, Bute he also ca-pun beo idigt (Fl. and Bl. 257). To strech in þe strete þou hatz no vygour, Bot þou wer clene with outen mote (E. Engl. All. Poems, A. 970). He ne may efterward wonye mid hire, bote hy hit ne bidde beuore (Ayenb. p. 49). Vor non ne may him wel ssriue ne him loki uram zenne, bote he his ne knawe (ib. p. 70). So that no man wolde trowe the richesse of the palays, but he had seen it (Maundev. p. 188). Lent nevere was lif, But lifode were shapen (P. Ploughm. p. 275). But it were thorough the God of Love,

I knew not elles to my bihove That . . . (Chaucer, *Rom. of the Rose*, 2961).

In Wycliffe's translation of the Bible we meet often with »no but« instead of the simple »but«. This peculiarity occurs mostly after negative principal sentences; in which case the »no« preceding »but« serves to repeat emphatically or, when the accessory sentence precedes the principal one, to point to the negative character of the principal sentence. In this case the use of the pleonastic »no« is to be approved or at least not to be blamed; f. i. Sothli no man may do thes signes that thou dost, no but God were with him (Wycl. John 3, 2). No but gee schulen se tokenes and grete wondris, gee bileuen not (ib. 4, 48). — But when »no but« is at the same time made use of, to render the Latin »nisi« after affirmative sentences, this is an extremely arbitrary proceeding; f. i. No but the corne . . . schal be deade, it dwellith alone (ib. 12, 24).

That »no but« is found also in interrogative sentences expecting an answer in the negative, is natural; f. i. Wher our lawe demeth a man, no but firste it haue herde of hym (John 7, 51). Who may forgyve synnes, no but God alone? (Luke 5, 21).

In the same manner Wycliffe makes use of »no but gif«, which however occurs only in negative sentences; f. i. No but gif zoure rigtwisnesse shal be more plenteuouse than of scribis and Pharisees, gee shulen not entre into kyngdam of heuenes (Matth. 5, 20).

»But« is also joined to a negative sentence in that manner that a substantive of the principal sentence is not repeated as the subject of the accessory sentence, which, therefore, appears as a substitute of an adjective sentence.

Ther is no man but hens must wende (Cov. Myst. p. 232).

This omission perhaps arose from a reluctance to repeat a word that immediately precedes the accessory sentence, even under the form of a pronoun. This omission however is not found in the earlier stage of the period, but only in the later stage and even here very rarely.

Joined to a negative principal sentence in which occurs the adverb ›so‹, denoting a degree, the accessory sentence, expressing the effect of the negative degree, may be introduced by ›but‹; which corresponds here to the Latin ›quin‹ referring to ›tam‹.

My sorwe was nevyr so grett, but now my joy is more (Cov. Myst. p. 76).

b. "but that".

It is used in almost the same manner as ›but‹, only it occurs more seldom.

›But that‹ corresponds to the Latin ›nisi‹ and ›quin‹. — Bote that thou me Wilekin bringe, Ne mai I never lawe ne singe (Dame Siriz, Spp. I. a, 113). No straungere comethe before him, but that he makethe him sum promys and graunt (Maundev. p. 40). No man schalle come before no prynee, but that he be bettre (ib. p. 40). There nys no table, but that it is worthe an huge tresour of gode (ib. p. 218). Salle non finde encheson þorgh quaintise to say, Bot þat ze be alle boun with me to wende þat way (Langt. II, 291). Ther xal be neyther kayser nere kyng, But that I xal hem down dyng (Cov. Myst. p. 183).

›But that‹ never occurs without a subject.

›But that‹ expresses the effect of the negative degree. — That feld is not so well closed, but that men may entren at here owne list (Maundev. p. 50). And men may not make the hole ne the cave, where it is taken out of the erthe, so depe ne so wyde, but that it is, at the zeres ende, fulle azen up to the sydes, thorgh the grace of God (ib. p. 67).

c. "but if".

It is most frequently met with. — þat ne bið he biwunne þurh nanes cunnes monnen, bute gif hunger cumen þer an under (Lay. II, 358). Nan ne sholde wurrþenn þa sett to wurrþenn prest, butt iff He prestess sune waere (Orm. 492). Nexst fleshe ne schal mon werien no linene cloð, bute gif hit beo of herde and of greate heorden (Ancr. Riwe p. 418). Mai he no leue at hire taken but-if he it mai wið crafte maken (Gen. and Exod. 2697). Bote yef ich ne hedde þe uirtue of charite, al hit nere me naht worth (Ayenb. p. 89). Before the soudan comethe no strangier but gif he be clothed in clothe of gold (Maundev. p. 39). No man may zeven covenable medicyne, but gif he knowe the qualitee of the dede (ib. p. 120). [In Maundeville >but gif< frequently occurs in the phrase >bute gif it be<, used instead of the elliptical >but<; f. i. They have no watre, but gif it be of that flood of that ryvere (p. 45).] Na-moore myghe God be man, But if he moder hadde (P. Ploughm. p. 343). Sothely no man may do thes signes that thou doist, but gif God were with hym (Wycl. John 3, 2, earlier text; Spp. I, b, 255). Whan that thay (heihe toures and grete edifices) ben accomplished, yit beth thay nought worth a straw, but if they be defended by trewe frendes (Ch. Melib. Spp. I, b, 395).

d. "but if that".

Forr niss nan mann þatt wirrkenn mazz þa tacness þatt tu wirrkesst, Butt iff þatt Drihtinn be wiþþ himm (Orm. 16626); ib. 17950. Nu nis no squier of pris in this middel erd But if that he bere a babel and a long berd (Wr. Polit. S. p. 335). No man . . . Schal not supplante othur securly But gef that hyt be so y-wroght, That hyt turne the werke to nogth (Halliw. Freemas. 204). No man

schalle neyghe the charyot, but only tho lordes, but zif that the emperour calle ony man to him (Maundev. p. 241).

3. *Interrogative principal sentence*, with the expectation of an answer in the negative.

How man, but he were maad of stele, Myghte live a monthe suche peynes to fele? (Chauc. Rom. of R. 2733). — Whate are all thi werkes worthe, whethire pay be bodyly or gastely, bot if thay be done ryghtefully . . .? (Rolle de Hamp. p. 27). Hov schulde þou com to his kyth bot-if þou clene were? (E. Engl. All. P. p. 71).

c. The elliptical use of "but".

1. "*But*" with reference to affirmative principal sentences. — ze schulen eten urom ester uort þet þe holi rode dei, þe latere, þet is ine heruest, everiche deie twie, bute uridawes and umbridawes (Ancr. Riwe p. 412). So blac is al the mone of him silve i-wis, Bote ther as the sonne schyneth (Wr. Pop. treat. p. 133). Ich beleue ine Yesu Crist, oure lhord, Godes zone, þe uader, in alle þinges þet belongeþ to þe godhede, an is onlepi þing mid þe uader, bote of þe persone þet is oþer þanne þe persone of þe uader (Ayenb. p. 12). All shall be fordene that lif in land bot ye (Town. Myst. p. 23). He saide alle shalle be slayn bot oonely we (ib. p. 28).

Here we have to mention the phrase ›but for‹. It already occurs at an early period. Hit likede wel þan kinge buten for ane þinge (Lay. III, 264). Here ›buten‹ and ›for‹ are still efficient each in its own full power, the latter serving to introduce an object considered as the cause of something and the former introducing an exception to what precedes: It well pleased the king, except (it did not well please him) for (because of) one thing. — Quite different is the use of ›but for‹ in the later stage. In pes

thou myth be for me, Bot for thi pepyl of this londe (Cov. Myst. p. 312). Nay I myself wold kille hym Bot for sir Pylate (Town. Myst. p. 207). By Goddis woundes, but for dysplesaunce, Of my querell soone wolde I venged be (Skelton I, 43). Here the verb of the principal sentence cannot be supplied after ›but‹; ›but for‹ has become here a formula, serving to introduce an object that has got an exceptive character by ›but‹ as the cause, by which the realization of an intended action has been hindered or checked; it therefore means ›were it not for‹, ›without‹, ›when such a one or such a thing were not‹.

2. "*But*" with reference to negative principal sentences. — þat swote song . . . þat nane halwes ne mahen bute meidenes ane singen in heuene (H. Meidenh. p. 19). For nab-bich bute hire ane (S. Marh. p. 6). Nis þer bote nan, bute fleon þenne (ib. p. 15). Nu nabbe we of þan londe buten þene west ende (Lay. III, 273). The other ne can sweng but anne (Owl and Night. p. 28). Ne ouwe ze (speken) buten et þeos two þurles (Ancr. Riwe p. 68). Non but non (Gen. and Exod. 3488). Þi felle wiþ-oute nis bot a sakke (Spp. I, a, 116, a sarmun). I nabbe don her nout bote goed (Vox and Wolf, Spp. I, a, 133). Therfore bote after hete me ne schal no thundre i-seo ne hure (Wr. Pop. treat. p. 135). He ne kepte bute hire one (R. of Gl. p. 32). Wyn nelle ihc Muche ne lite Bute of cuppe white (K. Horn 1131). þou ne sselt habbe god bote me . . . and þou ne sselt do þine hope bote ine me (Ayenb. p. 5). A saule may noghte here it bot by rauyschyng in lufe (Rolle de Hamp. p. 16). There it reyneth not but litylle in that contree (Maundev. p. 45). There is non but on in alle the world (ib. p. 48). He cometh noght but ofte (P. Ploughm. p. 309). No man may be convertid to God but onely by the earnestful doyinge of God (Serm. ag. Miracle-plays, Spp.

I, b, 232). Jhesu baptiside not, but his disciplis (Wycl. John 4, 2). Than wolde he speke no word but Latyn. (Chauc. C. T. 638). Ther nas but hevynes and mochil sorwe (ib. 6661).

As in complete accessory sentences, also in the elliptical use of >but< with a preceding negative Wycliffe has the peculiarity that he often emphatically repeats the negative before >but<; f. i. And no man styeth into heuene, no but he that cam down fro heuene (John 3, 13). But this peculiarity as well as that quoted above is not met with in all manuscripts.

The Anglo-Saxon use of >but< instead of >than< after comparatives in a negative or in an interrogative sentence implying a negative sense, has maintained itself in O. Engl. — What woldest þou more of hym, bute þat he þe truage bere (R. of Gl. I, 58). He ne couthe no beter dyght, Bote out of lond stal by nyht (Alis 117). And there were wont to ben 5 soudans, but now there is no mo but he of Egypt (Maundev. p. 36). There is no mo briddes of that kynde in alle the world, but it allone (ib. p. 48). — Remarkable is the following passage, in which >but< and >als< occur together: Richer kyng is non in þis world bot ge, No valianter of bon in Cristendam als he (Langt. I, 144).

Also the Anglo-Saxon use of >but< after >other< and >elles< in a negative sentence has maintained itself in O. E. — Ha nawiht ne þarf of oðer þing þenchen bute an of hire leofmon wið treowe lue cwemen (H. Meidenh. p. 5). Heo naueð oðer zeld buten hire suluen (Ancr. Riwe p. 58) ib. p. 84. For wille ich the love, ne non other, Bote mi wedde houssebonde (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 108). Ne makede his Moder non oþer chere Bute also he were ileid on bere (Fl. and Bl. 13). Cani do non othir dede Bot

my pater noster and my crede (Rel. ant. I, 146). Thou xalt have . . . , Noon other God but the kyng of blysse (Cov. Myst. p. 60). — Off nan þing elles niss þe nohht Butt off þatt an þing ane (Orm. 7983) ib. 8263. þis name Jhesu es noghte ells for to say one Ynglishe bot heler or hele (Rolle de Hamp. p. 43). þe name of Jhesu es noghte elles bot þis gastely hele (ib. p. 44). Saynt Bernard says . . . þat ›man here is nathyng elles, Bot a foule slyme . . . ‹ (Rolle de Hamp. Pricke of Consc. 362). Goddes hous, that ys y-mad for nothing ellus But for to pray yn (Halliw. Freemas. 498).

From ›but‹ with a preceding negative with the restrictive meaning ›only‹, above spoken of, there arises the isolated ›but‹ with the same meaning. It is already found at an early stage of the period. — ›Mid how mony knyghtes ys he come?‹ þe oþer azeyn seyde, ›Madame, bute mid o mon . . . ‹ (R. of Gl. p. 35). Hit arn aboute on þis bench bot berdlez chylder (Sir Gawayne 280). I may bot mourne (ib. 1795). þat dotz bot þrych my hert þrange, My breste in bale bot bolne and bele (E. Engl. All. P. p. 1). I am bot mol (ib. p. 12). A nakede mynde or a nakede ymagynacione of Jhesu . . . es bot a blyndnes (Rolle de Hamp. p. 19). Luke after na noþer bodily swetnes . . . , charge it bot a lytill (ib. p. 33). Lewed men ne koude Jangle ne jugge, That justifie hem sholde But suffren and serven (P. Ploughm. p. 8). That thow tellest . . . Is but a tale of Waltrot (P. Ploughm. p. 377). Worthi men, that conne Latyn but litylle (Maundev. p. 5). It is but two journeyes in largenesse (ib. p. 46). In Egypt there ben but fewe forcelettes or castelles (ib. p. 47). We dy but oones (Town. Myst. p. 265). Of those that welle has wroght Fynd I bot a fone (ib. p. 22). The wepyng and the fleyschly devocion in hem ben but as strokis of han hamer on every side

(Serm. ag. Mir. Pl. Spp. I, b, 242). His studie was but litel on the Bible (Ch, C. T. 438). Ye hold him but a knave (Ch. C. T. 6772).

The use of ›but‹ with a preceding negative is extended in O. E. in such a manner that one of the verbs generally used as auxiliaries, is employed in the principal sentence with an object, therefore as a principal verb, in the accessory sentence however is to be supplied as an auxiliary verb. — ›Hule, thu axest me‹, ho seide, ›zif ich kon eni other dede, Bute singen in sume tide . . .‹ (Owl and Night. Spp. I, a, 41). And thei ne recchen of no thing, ne don not but chacen afre bestes (Maundev. p. 64).

Then the general idea represented by the object of the verb of the principal sentence (in the above instances: ›any other dede‹ and ›not‹ = nought) is omitted. — Ich . . . ne do bute nempnie ham (Rel. Ant. I, 67).

Quite different is the case in the phrase ›cannot but‹; for ›Ich ne do bute nempnie ham‹ means: I only name her; ›þe hen . . . ne con buten kakelen‹ (Ancr. Riwe p. 66) however does not mean: The hen can only cackle, but: the hen must needs cackle, An exact grammatical explanation of this idiom seems to be impossible. For when perhaps it would be said that out of ›cannot‹ a verb such as ›must‹ should be taken and supplied as verb of the elliptical ›but‹, this would be only a signification of the meaning of the phrase, but not an explanation. Either we may say that there exists a more inexact and vague relation of the infinitive to the verb ›cannot‹, such as we have in similar cases in German; f. i. Ich kann Nichts thun, als meinem Sohne Geld schicken. Or it may be said that the phrase ›cannot but‹ with the infinitive is a blending of two Latin constructions: Non possum eum non admirari, and: facere non possum quin eum admirer.

Examples such as: »Ich ne do bute nempnie ham« may be enlarged by the pure infinitive's being replaced by a complete accessory sentence. — I nolde for al the metal ne for the ore . . . But I thy wife were and eek thy love (Ch. C. T. 6646).

This use has been transferred to verbs of sensual and intellectual observation, when negatived, where »but that« (I have not met with »but« alone) is totally used in the sense of »that not«. It however occurs only in the later stage of this period and that very seldom. — Peraventure gee seyen that no man schal make gon to byleven but that it is good to pleyen the passion of Crist (Serm. ag. Miracle-plays, Spp. I, b, 241).

Likewise after the verbs »to doubt« and »to deny« »but that« is used for the introduction of an accessory sentence. This use cannot be explained in the same manner as after the verbs of the preceding order by a repetition of the verb of the principal sentence after »but«. »But that« is rather the translation of the Latin »quin« after »non dubitare« (Cicero, Brutus 18, 74) and »non negare« (Liv. 40, 36). Together with these words themselves their Latin construction passed into the English as well. This explanation is almost entirely brought to a certainty by the occasional occurring of »that ne« instead of »but that« for the introduction of the accessory sentence after »to doubt« in a negative sentence: No doute that thei ne scornen God (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp. I, b, 228). No dowte that ne the puple doth more mawmetrie (ib. 240). »But that« occurs after »to doubt« and »to deny« only in the end of the 14th century. — No doute but that myraclis pleyinge is verre takyng of Goddis name in ydil (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp. I, b, 234). No dowte but that alle gode men wolden demyen the unkynde (ib. 235). No dowte but that it is dead-

ly synne (ib.). An example of »to deny« followed by »but that« is quoted in »Fiedler und Sachs; Engl. Gr.: Chaucer, Belles Ed. VI, 229; but I had no occasion to compare this passage.

3. *With reference to an interrogative principal sentence expecting an answer in the negative.* — Hwat makeð hit iluued . . . bute hare muchele unþeaw . . . ? (H. Meidenh. p. 25). Hare confort and hare delit hwerin is hit al meast bute iflesches fulðe . . . ? (ib. p. 27). Hwat makeð us strong uorte drien derf ine Godes seruisse . . . ? Hwat, but hope of heih mede? (Anc. Riwe p. 80). What is þer in paradis Bot grasse and flure and grene ris? (E. E. Poems, ed. Furnivall, p. 156). Bot whene vnto me swylke joye bot for Jhesu? (Rolle de Hamp. p. 2). Tharefore what menyis it »Oyle owtzettide es thy name »bot Jhesu es thy name (ib. p. 1). Who may forgeue synnes, but God alone? (Wycl. Mrk. 2, 7). Who rubbeth now his lippes but Absolon? (Ch. C. T. 3747).

“But” in the adversative coordination.

The transition from the exceptive to the adversative meaning is natural and easily explained inasmuch as an exception may well be called contrary to the rule. This use of »but« is not found in A. S. Yet there are instances in A. S. which serve to show the state of transition from the original exceptive to the adversative meaning: On þissum geare naes nan faereld to Rome buton twegen hleaperes Aelfred cyng sende mid gewritum (Sax. Chr. 889). Naeron nawðer ne on Fresise gescaepene, ne on Denisc, bute swa him selfum ðuhte þæt . . . (ib. 897). Her on þissum geare ealle þa yldestan Angel cynnes witan gefeollan aet Calne of anre upfloran, butan se halgan Dunstan arcebiscop ana aetstood uppon anum beame (ib. 978). Se here

þa ætborst . . . buton an scip þær man ofsloh (ib. 992). In all these passages the notions of >nisi< and >sed<, partly also of >tantum< pass into each other. >But< tends still more towards the adversative meaning in the following passage: Hit nis vuhte gelic elles on eorðan, buton svâ þes ár sâged, þæt hit gegnunga from gode côme (Cædm. Gen. 681). Here indeed it so approximates to the adversative meaning that the latter would be to be admitted, were this example not entirely isolated. Mr. Grein says with respect to this passage: butan (sed?) (Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, III, p. 150).

Also in the earlier stage of O. E. >but< is very rarely found in the adversative coordination or at least its adversative character is not clearly fixed. The following passage illustrates the contiguity of the three notions >nisi<, >sed< and >tantum<, all of which enoroch upon each other: Leode nere þar nane, ne wapmen ni wifmen, buten westige paedes (Lay. I, 48). In the passage: And al hit þuncð him wel idon, bute nele he þe naeuere Euelin mid aerhðe bi-tæchen (Lay. I, 352) >but< approximates already much more to the pure adversative meaning.

The earliest >but< occurs in the adversative meaning there where it absolutely implies the negation of what precedes, meaning >on the contrary<. — Non oðer (make) wile ge (ðe turtre) more; buten one goð and one sit and hire olde lufe abit (Best. Spp. I, a, 73). I deme hit not al for doute Bot sum for cortaysye (Sir Gaw. 246). 'Ay lastande lufe has onercomemyne me, noghte fer to sla me, bot for to qwykkyn me (Rolle de H. p. 2). In that chappelle synngen prestes Yndyenes noght aftir oure lawe but aftir here (Maundev. p. 80). He coveiteth noght youre caroyne, But fedeth hym al with venyson (P. Ploughm. p. 12).

Besides it is already early found in a modified mean-

ing, in order to denote a restricted opposition, which often approximates to the copulative juxtaposition of opposite assertions or notions; therefore it assimilates partly to the Greek particle >δὲ<. — Min hernde willi to the bede Bote wraththen the for ani dede Were me loth (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 106). Gawan watz glad to be-gynne þose gomnez in halle, Bot þaz þe ende be heuy, haf ze no wonder (Sir Gaw. 495). Grace God gaf him here, þis lond to kepe long space, Sex and fifty zere withouten werre in grace; Bot sone afterward failed him powere (Langt. p. 213). I am bot mol and marerez myse, Bot crystes mersy and mary and Jon, þise arn þe grounde of alle my blysse (E. E. All. P. p. 12). And that wyldernesse and desert laste the 8 journeyes. But alleweyes men fynden gode innes (Maundev. p. 34). He wolde . . . have cleped it Elya: but that name lasted not longe (ib. p. 84).

As such a modified particle of opposition >but< is efficient in the phrases >not only . . . but, but also, but eek<. In the earlier stage of O. E., where >but< does not occur in the adversative coordination, >ah (ac)< is made use of in this phrase instead of >but<: >nawt ane . . . ah< (Rel. ant. II, 6). It is only since the close of the 14th century that >but< occurs with reference to >not only<. — A prist . . . not onely shulde kepe chastite but alle othere vertues (Ser. ag. M. P. Spp. I, b, 232). And so thes myraclis pleyinge not onely reversith feith and hope, but very charite (ib.) Nought only thou but every mighty man (Ch. C. T. 15437). ib. 5345. — Thei ben not onely contrarious to the worschippe of God . . . , but also thei ben gynnys of the devvel (Serm. ag. M. P., Spp. I, b, 230). To pristis it is uttirly forbedyn not onely to been myracle pleyere but also to heren or to seen myraclis pleyinge (ib.). — And nought oonly, that oure defaute schal be juged, but eek

that alle oure werkes schul be openly knowen (Ch. C. T. p. 187, I).

Lastly ›but‹ is sometimes used, when the opposite thought wants real reference to the preceding one. This is the case with an interruption of the speaker by an external event or in the voluntary interruption of his own train of thoughts. — Wo was this knight, and sorwfully he siked; But what? he may not doon al as him liked (Ch. C. T. 6495). Then begynnys to grufe to us mery chere; Bot, husband, What grownd may this be? (Town. Myst. p. 32).

This use is still more extended in passages where ›but‹ colloquially in lively and sprightly language stands at the beginning of a speech, in the same manner as we in German make use of our ›aber‹. — There is already in A. S. such a passage: Pilatus ongan þā caihtas tō āxjeane for hvig þāt folc þone Haelend svā yfele hāfde (Ev. Nicod. 8). ›For-thi, leve some, tel thou me What thou woldest I dnde for the‹. ›Bote leve Nelde, ful evele I fare . . .‹ (Dame Siriz, Spp. I, a, 108). ›Seli wif, what eilleth the?‹ ›Bote ethe mai I sory be . . .‹ (ib. 112). Noe. Wife, we are hard sted with tythynges new. Uxor. Bot thou were worthi be cled in Stafford blew. (Town. Myst. p. 25).

III. The use of “but” in Mod. English.

“But” as preposition.

The totally privative meaning which ›but‹ already towards the close of the Old English period was gradually losing, has been entirely suppressed in Mod. English. It now exists only in the northern dialects under the form

of ›but‹. There remains therefore only the restricted privative meaning.

The principle laid down in A. S. and O. E. for the distinction of the preposition from the conjunction is also of force in Mod. Engl.: After affirmative sentences implying the idea of generality, ›but‹ is generally to be considered as preposition, after negative sentences always as conjunction. It is to be regarded therefore as preposition in the following instances: All but mariners plunged in the foaming brine (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 210). The earth has swallowed all my hopes but she (Sh. Rom. and Jul. I, 2, 14); here ›she‹ is used emphatically instead of ›her‹; at least this seems to be the simplest explanation (cf. Mätzner, Engl. Gr. I, p. 313). All my jewels, but some one for the boy (W. Raleigh, Hr.¹⁾ 105). Able to drive all sadness but despair (Milton, P. L. IV). They . . . thought that all but savages were slaves (Dryden, Hr. 130). All but his kingly diadem he gives (Dryden, van Dal²⁾). They (the words) often lose all but their first syllables (Addison, Hr. 189). Monarch of Gods and Daemons, and all Spirits but One (Shelley, Prometh. I, 1). The boy stood on the burning deck, whence all but him had fled (F. Hemans, p. 167). Bismillah is the commencement of all the chapters of the Koran but one (quoted: Baskerv.³⁾). I can reduce all feelings but this one (Byron, Epistle to Augusta). In all points but one (Mac. I, 88). It is sacred ground for Englishmen, more sacred than all but one or two fields where their bones lie whitening (Tom Brown's sch. d. I) She pleaded every reason against the match, but the true one (Lamb.

1) Hr. = Herrig, British classical authors. 1860.

2) van Dal. = van Dalen, Engl. Grammatik in Beispielen.

3) Baskerville, English Grammar for the use of the Germans.

Tal. fr. Sh. Rom. a. Jul.). — The matter is somewhat critical in the passages containing the preposition ›without‹; f. i. She . . . is more than once bewildered on her journey, alone and on foot, without any guide but a blowzy peasant girl (Scott, Wav. I). Here indeed the sense of the ›without any guide‹ is negative and nevertheless there is no option than to take ›but‹ as preposition. We can only explain this by saying that although the sense is negative, the form is nevertheless affirmative. — Without moisture, but the excrescences of a spilt humour (Taylor, Hr. 135); here ›without moisture‹ means ›without any moisture‹.

In conformity with the A. S. and O. E. there occur also in Mod. E. examples of negative sentences, in which ›but‹ is followed by the objective case of a personal pronoun which cannot be referred to another word than ›but‹; f. i. There is no one to keep the child but him (Warren, van Dal.). But also here we explain the objective case in the same manner as in the two preceding periods. For although indeed the change of the objective cases with the nominative, still of frequent occurrence in the earlier stage of Mod. E. (in Shakespeare), is only rarely found in the written language of our time, yet it is still largely made use of in ordinary intercourse, and besides this use is still occasionally met with in modern writers; Of all our band . . . none can less have said or more have done than thee, Mazeppa (Byron, Mazeppa IV). Me and George should n't part in anger (Thackeray, Vanity fair, 249). No doubt therefore, we may employ this idiom for the explanation of instances such as that above quoted.

That general principle however, common to the three periods of the language is farther extended in Mod. E. towards one side, inasmuch as ›but‹ is also used after adjectives in the superlative degree. This use has arisen from

the omission of the general notion, an exception to which is introduced by ›but‹. If after the superlative we supply the words ›of all‹, we have the complete regular use of ›but‹.

The greatest man in England but the king (Sh. 2 Henry VI. II, 2, 82). Pistol: Sweet knight, thou art now one of the greatest men in this realm. — Silent: By're lady, I think 'a be, but goodman Puff of Barson (Sh. 2 Henry IV. V, 3, 93). Edmund's last coat but one was in pawn (Thackeray, *van Dal.*). Who stands next but one to the count (James, *ib.*). He happened to hide himself behind the tombstone next but one to that which sheltered (Warren, *ib.*). The next day but one (Thackeray, *ib.*). On the last Tuesday but one of the half-year (Tom Brown's school-days, VII). In the next street but one (Dickens, *Christm. Car.* 5).

“But” as conjunction.

a. The complete exceptive sentence.

In A. S. and in the earlier stage of O. E., as we have seen, the real and the conditional exceptive sentences were still almost everywhere distinctly separated from each other. The cause of this was on the one hand, that ›but‹ everywhere still bordered on its original meaning, and on the other hand the existence of distinctive inflective forms of the indicative and subjunctive moods, which distinction rendered the transition from one of the two classes into the other more difficult. In the later stage of the O. E. period however, together with the disappearing of the inflective forms and the transition of new grammatical functions, deviating more from the original meaning, to our particle, the limit, hitherto pretty exactly delineated between these two classes of exceptive sentences, was rendered more indistinct. Since the commencement of Mod. E., where the

inflective forms with the exception of a few have almost completely disappeared, where new usages of ›but‹ have already arisen, while the germs of other ones are already visible — usages which in many ways from the sphere of the real exceptive sentence encroach upon that of the conditional one and vice versa — since the commencement of Mod. E., we say, an exact separation of the two classes, such as we have established it in the preceding periods, becomes an effective impossibility. Disregarding this distinction therefore, we now consider the exceptive sentences in general.

From the four particles and combinations of particles, we met with in O. E., the language has returned in M. E. to those two which are in use in A. S., ›but‹ and ›but that‹. Only in Spenser, who generally affects the antique, ›but if‹ occurs sometimes. — But this read, that, but if remedee thou her afford, full shortly I her dead shall see (Sp. F. Q. III, 3, 16). And now it is so utterly decayd, That any bud thereof doth scarce remaine, But-if few plants, preserv'd through heavenly ayd, In Princes Court doe hap to sproute againe (ib. IV, 8, 33).

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

a. "But".

It is followed mostly as well as ›but that‹ by the indicative; only occasionally, and that more frequently in the earlier stage than afterwards, it is followed by the subjunctive, without one's always being able to adduce a reason. At the most it may be said that the subjunctive, according to its inner nature, expresses the subjective relation of the speaker to the import of what he says, sometimes giving it the character of irreality.

I am much deceived but I remember the style (Sh. L. L. L. IV, 1, 98). I'll die for't but some woman had the

ring (Sh. Merch. of V. V, 208). I would be sorry, but the fool should be as oft with your master as with my mistress (Sh. Tw. n. III, 1, 45). And but thou love me, let them find me here (Sh. Rom. II, 2, 72). — Likewise we must understand »but« in the conditional meaning 1) after »to beshrew«: Beshrew me but I do love . . . (Sh. K. John V, 4, 49). Merch. of V. II, 6, 52. 2) after »to rebuke«: The gods rebuke me but it is tidings to wash the eyes of kings (Sh. Ant. and Cl. V, 1, 27). 3) after »it shall go hard«, meaning: there must be a great obstacle if I cannot etc. That »but« is to be understood here in the sense of »if not«, results from the occurring of »it shall go hard« followed by »if« (Sh. Tam. of the Shr. IV, 4, 109). It shall go hard but I will prove it (Sh. Gentl. I, 1, 86). Merch. of V. III, 1, 75. Likewise meaning »if not« »but« is to be understood: I'll plead for you myself, but you shall have him (Sh. Tam. of the Shr. II, 1, 15). — May 'this glass suffocate me, but a fine girl is worth all the priestcraft in the creation (Goldsm. Vic. VII). I'll pawn my dukedom, but I take that garrison without spilling a drop of blood (Goldsm. She stoops, II). May I die by an anodyne necklace, but I had rather be an under turnkey in Newgate (Goldsm. Hr. 285). May this cup be my last, but it is the best wine I ever drunk at Pompeii (Bulwer, quoted: Koch, Engl. Gr.). Deuce take me, lady Whiffle, but I've a good mind to break ect. (Peake, Court and City, II, 1).

In conditional sentences implying an irreality there often occurs, besides the ordinary sequence of tenses, another one, which we have already met with in O. E., answering completely to the Latin construction after »nisi quod« and to the German after »nur dass«. — And, but he's something stained with, thou mightst call him a goodly person (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 414): And but infirmity hath something

seized his wished ability, he had himself ect. (Sh. W. Tale V, 1, 144). Othello I, 3, 194.

b. "But that".

Completely in the manner of »but that« in the A. S. and O. E. real exceptive sentences, it occasionally occurs in Spenser; f. i. That (Damsell) was right fayre and modest of demayne, But that too oft she chaung'd her native hew (F. Q. II, 9, 40). With other writers, from Shakespeare down to our time, it is met with only in conditional sentences implying an irreality.

But that it would be double-dealing, I would you could make it another (Sh. Tw. N. V, 32). But that the Earl his flight had ta'en, The vassals there their Lord had slain (Scott, L. Minstr. 4, 10). — (He) had come along with me but that his mistress did hold his eyes locked (Sh. Gentl. II, 4, 88). The sky would pour down stinking pitch, but that the sea dashes the fire out (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 4). Merry W. IV, 5, 20. As you like it I, 2, 259. At every jest you laugh aloud As now you would have done by me But that I barred your raillery (Butl. Hudibr. III, 1, 1420). In vain it were to speak anything of God but that by reason men are able somewhat to judge of what they hear (Hooker, Hr. 133). (He) had doubtless made an end to them himself, but that he fell into one of his fits (Bunyan, Hr. 160). I liked her, would have marry'd her But that it pleased her father to refuse me (Rowe, Fair Penit. I, 1). I could tell your Ladyship something, but that I am afraid it would offend you (Fielding, Hr. Gr.¹⁾). Some of the debtors would have perished for want, but that they were delivered by the generosity of the criminals themselves (Bulwer,

1) Hr. Gr. = Wagner's engl. Grammatik, neu bearbeitet von Herrig.

ib.). — Here we live in an old crumbling mansion that looks for all the world like an inn, but that we never see company (Goldsm. She stoops I).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

a. "But".

Used in the pure conditional sentence it is still sometimes to be found in Shakespeare, afterwards however but seldom. — Ne 'er may I look on day, but she tells to your highness simple truth (Sh. C. of Err. V, 211). And, but she spoke it dying, I would not believe her (Sh. Cymb. V, 4, 41). Sh. 2 Henry VI. IV, 7, 128. And but I loved to drive the deer, More than to guide the labouring steer, I had not dwelt an outcast here (Scott, Hr. 413).

»But« is much more frequently found more or less completely passing into the meaning of the Latin »quin«. The accessory sentence either expresses an accompanying circumstance, or it has the character of a consecutive sentence. The negative may be replaced by »scarce«, »scarcely«, »seldom«. — He had not been there pissing while, but all the chamber smelt him (Sh. Gentl. IV, 4, 21). A man cannot steal, but it (the conscience) accuseth him; he cannot swear, but it checks him (Sh. Rich. III. I, 4, 139). There was never yet fair woman but she made mouths in a glass (Sh. Lear III, 2, 36). There's scarce a maid westward but she sings it (Sh. W. Tale IV, 4, 296). For there is no man that imparteth his joy to his friend, but he joyeth the more; and no man that imparteth his grief to his friend, but he grieveth the less (Fr. Bacon, Hr. 111). I never sit thus but I think of the two lovers so sweetly described by Mr. Gay (Goldsm. Vic. VIII). Not a beech's more beautiful green But a sweet-brier entwines it around . . . Not a brook that is limpid and clear, But it glitters with fishes of gold (Shenstone, Hr. 317). Not a shrub

that I heard her admire, But I hasted and planted it there (ib. Hr. 318). He never played a game but he lost it or engaged in a conspiracy but't was certain to end in defect (Thackeray, van Dal.). There's scarce any matter of duty but it concerns them both alike (Irving, Hr. Gr.). I could scarce have a friend to Hackton but they counted the bottles drunk at my table (Thackeray, van Dal.). It never rains but it pours (Schmidt, E. Gr.¹⁾). — »But« transferred to the temporal sphere: There had she not been long but she became a joyful mother (Sh. Com. of Er. I, 1, 50). Scarce had I left my father but I met him Borne on the shield of his surviving soldiers (Addison, Cato IV, 4). Blount was not as yet returned . . . , but Raleigh came forth (Scott, Hr. Gr.).

A substantive notion of the principal sentence is not repeated as the subject of the accessory sentence. — Of all which there is none but hath some mixture (Spenser, A view of the pr. st. of Irel.). There 's nothing situate under heavens eye But has his bound in earth, in sea, in sky (Sh. C. of Err. II, 1, 17). There's not a man I meet but doth salute me (Sh. ib. IV, 3, 1). Sh. 2 Henry IV. I, 2, 182. Not a pine in my grove is there seen, But with tendrils of woodbine is bound (Shenstone, Hr. 317). There were none of the Grogams but could tell a story (Goldsm. Hr. Gr.). There is scarce any man but will condescend in the meanest manner to flatter himself (Fielding, Hr. Gr.). Nor one of all the race was known. But prized its weal above their own (Scott, Hr. 412). There breathes no clansman in thy line But would have given his life for thine (Scott, van Dal.). There is not a house-maid but dreams of wedding-favour (Irv., Hr. Gr.). There is sel-

1) J. Schmidt, Grammatik der engl. Sprache.

dom one of them but has her love-cares and love-secrets (Irv., *ib.*). There is not an honest man but looks on thee as a knave (Mac. II, 65).

Sometimes the verb »to be« is omitted in the principal sentence and »but« together with the negative is, as it were, a formula, expressing a strong affirmation. — No bird but did her shrill notes sweetely sing; No song but did containe a lovely ditt (Spenser. F. Q. II, 6, 73). Not a soul but felt a fever (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 209). Not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver (*ib.* II, 2, 30). No voice but well could join Melodious part (Milton, P. L. III). Scarcely a family in the neighbourhood but incurred our suspicions (Goldsm. Vic. XV). Nor hill nor brook, we passed along But had its legend and its song (Scott, *van Dal.*). Not a city but has an ample share of them (Irv. Sk. B. p. 2). Not one of them but was persuaded that ect. (*ib.* p. 347). Not an author . . . but was canvassed and criticised (Disraeli, *Coningsby* VII, 2).

Sometimes a substantive notion of the principal sentence is not repeated as the object of the accessory sentence. — No jutty, frieze . . . but this bird hath made his pendent bed (Sh. Macb. I, 6, 7). No meed but he repays sevenfold (Sh. Tim. of Ath. I, 1, 288). Not a celebrated beauty but he has laid siege to (Irv. Br. H. Bachelors).

The use of »but« in order to denote the effect of the negative degree has maintained itself in Mod. E.; but it does not occur frequently. — Ne was there man so stroug, but he downe bore; Ne woman yet so faire, but he her brought Unto his bay (Sp. F. Q. IV, 8, 48). Not so dull but she can learn (Sh. Merch. of V. III, 2, 164). Nor gates of steal so strong but time decays (Sh. Sonn. 65, 8). Sh. Rich. II. V, 3. Nothing (can be) so very hard but I could bear it (Rowe, *Fair Penit.* I, 1). No knight in Cum-

berland so good, But William may count with him kin and blood (Scott, *L. Minstr.* IV, 26).

b. "But that".

It occurs in the same cases as ›but‹; only it is not found without a subject. It is however met with much more rarely.

Instead of ›but that‹ we sometimes find ›but what‹, a peculiarity which we have met with already in the later stage of O. E. in the conditional sentence. Also in other cases ›but what‹ has stolen into the language instead of ›but that‹.

›But that‹ in conditional sentences: I have not much importuned you; Nor now I had, but that I am bound to Persia (Sh. *C. of Err.* IV, 1, 3). I would never have fled But that they left me 'midst my ennemies (Sh. *1 Henry VI.* I, 2, 23). Nor would I employ you upon the present commission, but that I know no one so trustworthy as yourself (Ainsw. *Saint James's* II, 3). That gold should not redeem! It had not now redeem'd a single hour; But that I know him fetter'd, in my power (Byron, *Corsair* III, 5). — It shall go hard but what I shall find something to suit you (Bulwer, *van Dal.*).

In the meaning of ›quin‹: No man can go into another man's howse . . . but that he is endammaged to the Statute of treason (Spenser, *a view ect.*). So that no time nor reason could arize, But that the same could one of theese comprize (Spenser, *F. Q.* II, 9, 49). — He never liked man, woman, or beast, but what she was sure to be jealous of it (Thackeray, *van Dal.*). No one ever withstood him, but what some mischance fell upon him (James, *van Dal.*). Not a day, indeed passed but what he held long conversations with my father (Bulwer, *ib.*).

›But that‹ is not found without a subject; ›but what‹ however, when used instead of ›but that‹ occurs occasio-

nally without one. — I hope there is no dissatisfied person, but what is content (Scheridan, Rivals V, 3). There is no question whatsoever but what has some defenders and protectors (Baskerv.). — With omission of the verb in the principal sentence: He observed that no virtue was able to resist his arts and assiduity, and that scarcely a farmer's daughter within ten miles, but what had found him successful and faithless (Goldsm. Vic. III).

»But that« referring to »so«: They were not so clensed, but that they had noe pure drop of Spanish bloud no more of Romaine, noe of Scythian (Spenser, a view ect.). I am not yet so low but that my nails can reach unto thine eyes (Sh. Mids. III, 2, 298). Fiction cannot move so much, but that the attention may be easily transferred (Johnson, Hr. 267). Contempt had not so kept my anger to my husband, but that hatred rose again on this occasion (Fielding, Hr. Gr.). The walls were not so completely destroyed but that Dolph could distinguish some traces of the scene of his childhood (Irv., Koch, Engl. Gr.). The fog was not so thick but that I could see the lofty tower in the distance (Baskerv.). I was not so young when my father died but that I perfectly remember him (Byron, Convers.). Nothing could be so pure or so heroic but that it became foul and ignoble by transfusion through those foul and ignoble minds (Schmidt E. Gr.). Scrooge was not so dreadfully cut up by the sad event, but that he was an excellent man of business (Dickens, Chr. Car. I). — In the same way »but that« is used after »such« in the following passage: Iones had not such implicit faith in his guides, but that on their arrival at a village he enquired whether they were on the road to Bristol (Fielding, Hr. Gr.).

For denying the effect of the negative degree »but that« is in modern writers far more frequently found than »but«,

which, predominating at the earlier stage of Mod. E., is now almost obsolete.

»But«: I am myself not so dull to beauty but what in earlier youth I may have employed philters and potions in my own behalf (Bulwer, Hr. Gr.). Her needle is not so absolutely perfect, but what my superintendence is advisable (Scott, Kenilw. VI). The postboy is not so weary but what he can wistle (Brown¹⁾).

3. *Interrogative principal sentence* expecting an answer in the negative. — Here we only find »but«.

As for »but« in pure conditional sentences, no example has occurred to me.

»But« = quin: Can you not hate me, but you must join in souls to mock me too? (Sh. Mids. III, 2, 250). For who lived king but I could dig his grave? (Sh. 3 Henry VI. V, 2, 21). Who sees his true love in her naked bed but his other agents aim at like delight? (Sh. Ven. and Adon. 399). Can I not mountain-maiden spy, But she must bear the Douglas-eye? Can I not view a Highland-brand But it must match the Douglas-hand? Can I not frame a fever'd dream, But still the Douglas is the theme (Scott, Hr. 402).

The subject after »but« is wanting: Who finds the heifer dead and bleeding fresh And sees fast by a butcher with an axe, But will suspect 'twas he that made the slaughter? Who finds the partridge in the puttock's nest, But may imagine how the bird was dead . . .? (Sh. 2 Henry VI. III, 2, 188). — At the same time omission of »to be« in the principal sentence: Which of you but is four Volsces? (Sh. Coriol. I, 6, 78). Who but felt of late, . . . With what compulsion and laborious flight We sunk thus

1) Brown, The Grammar of English Grammars.

low? (Milton, P. L. II). Who but rather turns To Heav'n's broad fire his unconstrained view, Than to the glimm'ring of a waxen flame? (Akenside, Hr. 317). Who but would deem their bosoms burnt anew with thy unquenched beam, lost Liberty? (Byron, Hr. Gr.). And who that recollects young years and loves but would much rather sigh like his son, than cough like his grandfather? (Byron, ib.).

The object after »but« is omitted: What should he see but mightily he noted? (Sh. Lucr. 414). What should it be that he respects in her But I can make respective in myself? (Sh. Gentl. IV, 4, 199). What is in Silvia's face, but I may spy More fresh in Julia's with a constant eye? (Sh. Gentl. V, 4, 114). — At the same time omission of »to be« in the principal sentence: What towns of any moment but we have? (Sh. 1 Henry VI. I, 2, 6).

»But« referring to »so«: Where's the distance throws me back so far, but I may boldly speak? (Otway, Ven. pres. I, 1). — Omission of »to be« in the principal sentence and at the same time omission of the subject after »but«: For what so strong, But, wanting rest, will also want of might? (Spenser, F. Q. I, 1, 32). What wax so frozen but dissolves with tempering and yields at last to every light impression? (Sh. Ven. and Adon. 565).

b. The elliptical use of "but".

1. *Affirmative principal sentence.*

»But« is to be regarded as conjunction and not as preposition in the following instances: I do not think, So fair an outward and such stuff within, Endows a man but he (Sh. Cymb. I, 1, 22); »he« is here used emphatically instead of him (Delius); likewise in: That I kiss aught but he (ib. II, 3, 153). As for the »studied ambiguity« in Sh. Haml. II, 2, 287 cf. Abbott, Shakespearian Grammar

§ 127. I'm sure (he) would wish to see me married to anybody but himself (Goldsm. She stoops I).

We here have to mention the peculiar use of ›but‹ in the following passage: I should sin to think but nobly of my grandmother (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 119), where ›but‹ does not mean ›only‹, as it would seem at first sight, but as it results from the context, ›otherwise than‹, and is to be explained by the omission of something as ›in any manner‹.

Efficacious as conjunction ›but‹ is also to be considered in the phrase ›all but‹, turned almost into a formula; likewise when ›but‹ is followed by the preposition ›for‹ and (seldom) ›from‹. As for ›all but‹ we must discriminate between its ancient and its modern meaning; for in the earlier stage of M. E. it had another meaning than that of our own time; f. i. That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death, this kingdom's loss could (Delius: should) all but answer for that peevish brat (Sh. Rich. III. I, 3, 194); this means: That Henry's death ect. could do every thing, except they could not answer for ect.; that means: could not however. Another example: Let what is here contain'd (in a letter) relish of love, Of my lord's health, of his content, . . . of his content, all but in that! (Sh. Cymb. III, 2, 30). Here the matter is somewhat different, ›all‹ being used here adverbially, meaning ›in every respect‹; the use is not unlike the Latin ›accusativus graecus‹ or so called ›adverbial accusative‹. — In our time however ›all but‹ has passed into the meaning of ›almost‹; f. i. The fine arts were all but proscribed (Mac. I, 80); this means: the fine arts were despised, disdained, suppressed ect., in short all you can imagine, except that they were not directly proscribed; thence the sense ›almost‹.

When breath was all but flown (Scott, Waterl. VII).

The fortune was all but spent (Thackeray, *van Dal.*). The amalgamation of the races was all but complete (Mac. I, 17). He believed that this was a premeditated scene to find a pretence for breaking off an engagement that was already all but concluded (W. Godwin, *Caleb Williams II*). While in these passages the meaning of »all« and »but« is still discernable, there has arisen by a forgetfulness of the original sense of the two words, as it were, a compound word with the above meaning, which is made use of without respect to its origin. — Two dogs all but won that desperate game (Scott, *Hr.* 397). None must know what idle dream . . . all but gave Thy monarch's life to mountain-glaive (Scott, *Hr.* 417). Amidst the all but universal joy of the country (Brougham, *Historical Sketches of Statesmen*, I, 273). They had all but forced him to make war with France (Mac. I, 237). So he was all but forbidden the house (Kingsley, *Yeast X*). The hot blood that rose to my throat all but stifled me at the thought (Mrs. Gore, *Castles in the air III*).

Also the ancient meaning of »all but« is still met with in modern writers, but indeed very rarely. — Achilles, who was invulnerable all but the heel (Th. Hood, *Tydney Hall XX*).

»But for«. — Methinks they are such a gentle nation that, but for the mountain of mad flesh, that claims marriage of me, I could find in my heart to stay here still and turn witch (Sh. C. of Err. IV, 4, 157). O, but for my love day would turn to night (Sh. L. L. L. IV, 3, 233). My body . . . which but for him that has your husband's ring, Had quite miscarried (Sh. Merch. of V. V, 248). And in their rage such signs of rage thei bear, As, but for loss of Nestor's golden words, It seem'd they would debate with angry swords (Sh. Lucr. 1420). Woman, happy but for

me (Sh. C. of Err. I, 1, 38). I would have proceeded, but for the interruption of a servant (Goldsm. Vic. V). The task would have been more difficult but for our recent calamity (Goldsm., Hr. Gr.). She might have succeeded but for the interposition of Sir Clement (Burney, ib.). But for a strange mishap my sword had revenged all our injuries (Scott, ib.). He would have put me into the hands of the Prince of Orange, but for God's special providence (Mac. III, 323).

The verb may also stand in the indicative: She's well indeed but for two things (Sh. All's well II, 4, 48). That makes himself, but for our honour therein, Unworthy thee (Sh. W. Tale IV, 4, 447). The fellow but for his unaccountable bashfulness, is pretty well (Goldsm. van Dal.). In these passages »but for« is used almost in the sense of »apart from«.

In the same manner and with the same meaning we find »but« joined to »from«; but this phrase it but rarely met with. — Far less than this is shocking in a race Most wretched, but from streams of mutual love; And uncreated, but for love divine (Young, N. Th. 3, 205).

»But for« occurs also in negative sentences (we anticipate this use here). — These mine eyes but for thy piteous lips, no more had seen (Sh. Ven. and Adon, 504). The means of your deliverance, Which but for Hastings' death I had not gain'd (Rowe, J. Shore 5, 1). The room was so very much crowded, that, but for the uncommon assiduity of Sir Clement, we should not have been able to procure a box (Burney, Hr. Gr.). Where but for him they had not dined (Bulwer, ib.). — The Science of Philology could scarcely have been possible but for the fortunate discovery of Sanskrit in last century (Spalding, Hist. of Engl. Lit. p. 440). — »But from« in a negative sentence; Nor should

I have taken this trouble but from some opinion of your good sense (Fielding, Hr. Gr.).

2. *Negative principal sentence.*

Nothing was given to King Henry . . . but only the bare name of a King (Spenser, A view ect.). Be except to no sight but thine and mine (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 302). I have done nothing but in care of thee (ib. I, 2, 16). Aged custom, but by your voices, will not so permit me (Sh. Coriol. II, 3, 177). — As to the explanation of some peculiar instances of the elliptical use of »but« in Shakespeare, such as: K. John III, 1, 92; Tim. of Ath. I. 1, 107; Rich. III. I, 3, 214, cf. Abbott, Sh. Gr. § 127 and § 385. — Entertained by none but cowards (Massinger, Hr. 100). No man commandeth in the King's presence, but by the King's direction (Raleigh, Hr. 104). No receipt openeth the heart but a true friend (Bacon, Hr. 110). None but the brave deserves the fair (Dryden, Hr. 129). English poetry . . . is nothing at present but a combination of luxuriant images (Goldsm. Vic. VIII). He will not return but renowned (Macph., Hr. 322). It is thy father, O Morar! the father of no son but thee (Macph., Hr. 323). For they don't choose anybody should have a character but themselves (Sheridan, Sch. f. Sc. II, 1). Which blooms nowhere but in Paradise (Moore, Lala Rookh, Parad. and Peri). She has no idea of poverty but in the abstract (Irv. Sk. B. p. 22). That he should show favour to none but Whigs (Mac. IV, 12).

»But« may be followed by a complete accessory sentence, introduced by »that«. — There is no news but that he writes (Sh. Gentl. I, 3, 56). Your subjects, Sir, wish for nothing, but that you should distinguish between the conduct ect. (Junius, Hr. 294), T'was nothing but that she

could not bear to hear Charles reflected on (Sheridan, Sch. f. Sc. I, 1).

»But« after negative comparatives. — A man that apprehends death no more dreadfully but as a drunken sleep (Sh. Meas. f. M. IV, 2, 150). These poor informal women are no more but instruments of some more mightier member (Sh. ib. V, 237). They would have no more discretion but to hang us (Sh. Mids. I, 2, 83). Thou knowest no less but all (Sh. Tw. N. I, 4, 13). With no worse nor better guard but with a knave (Sh. Oth. I, 1, 126). They cherish it (the virtue) to make it stay there; and yet it will no more but abide (Sh. W. T. IV, 3, 99). He knows not what to do with it (the world); he can use no more, but according to the capacities of a man . . . (Taylor, Hr. 137). In our time this use is quite obsolete. — »But« followed by a substantive sentence, introduced by »that«: It (my purpose) is no more But that your daughter, ere she seems as won, Desires the ring (Sh. All's well III, 7, 32).

»But« referring to the comparative »sooner«, preceded by »no« and being followed by a complete accessory sentence, is used to denote simultaneousness or immediate consequence of two actions. — No sooner sayd, but streight he after sent His yron page (Spenser, F. Q. V, 1, 20). No sooner had this painful wombe brought foorth His eldest sonne . . . But straight he chargde a trustie man of his To beare the childe into a desert wood (Gascoygne, Jocasta I, 1). The which no sooner had his prowess confirmed, But like a man he died (Sh. Macb. V, 8, 42). Which they shall have no sooner achieved but we'll set upon them (Sh. 1 Henry IV. I, 2, 193). The breath no sooner left his father's body, But that his wildness . . . Seem'd to die too (Sh. Henry V. I, 1, 25). In the last instance »but that« is remarkable, which does not occur after »no sooner« else-

where. No sooner she th'advantage found but in she flew (Butl. Hudibr. Hr. 128). This extraordinary dialogue was no sooner ended but he began to launch out into a long dissertation upon the affairs of the north (Addison, Hr. 186). The false varlet no sooner saw me falling to work but he sent word (Addison, Hr. 188). My friend had no sooner taken up him my short face, but he made so grotesque a figure, that ect. (Addison, Hr. 193). No sooner had the Almighty ceased, but all The multitude of angels . . . heaven rung With jubilee (Milton, P. L. III). He was therefore no sooner discharged out of the custody of physis, but he thought of fulfilling his engagement (Fielding, Tom Jones VI, 3). — »No sooner but« is very predominant in the earlier stage of M. E., down to the beginning of the 18th century; during this time »no sooner than« is only rarely met with; still in Addison we almost always find »no sooner but«. Since the first half of the 18th century »no sooner than« begins to predominate, so that already in Swift, Fielding, Smollet, Robertson it is almost exclusively in use. In our time »no sooner but« seems hardly to occur.

• »But« after »other« in a negative sentence. — I think it be no other but e'en so (Sh. Haml. I, 1, 108). The duke knows him for no other but a poor officer of mine (Sh. All's well IV, 3, 225) . . . who know no other good but indulgere genio (Sidney, Hr. 103). With no other purposes but to rally him (Tatler 241). Incapable . . . of any other sentiments but those of pity or admiration (Robertson, Hr. 260). I wish no other here knew you but myself (Fielding, Tom Jones VIII, 5). I desire no other reward but the pleasure of having served my friend (Goldsm. Hr. Gr.). I observed that no other motive but their welfare could induce me to this (Goldsm. ib.). They had no

other source of mirth, but what could be derived from ridicule (Goldsm. *ib.*). No other but such a one (Coler. *Picc.* I, 4). No other repair but this (Lamb *Tal. fr. Sh.*).

»But« after »else« in a negative sentence: As if Religion were intended for nothing else but to be mended (Butler, *Hudibr. Chamb.*¹⁾ I, 364). Glory is nothing else but the shadow of virtue (Steele, *Hr.* 183). If we examine the idea of what we call so, we shall find it to be nothing else but an imitation (*Spectator* 169). Being nothing else but a parcel of wax (Montague, *Hr.* 286). — In the following passage: My brother now . . . bid adieu . . . to every thing else but his dog and gun (Fielding, *Hr.* 213), where after an affirmative sentence »else« is followed by »but«, the latter is not to be considered as conjunction, but as preposition referring to »every thing«.

In our time »but« after »other« as well as »else« has been replaced almost throughout by »than«.

»But« without a negative having the meaning »only, merely«. — His threatening was but vaine (Spenser, *F. Q. I.* 2, 2). Emperors and kings are but obeyed in their provinces (Marlowe, *Faustus*). You but waste your words (*Sh. Meas. f. M.* II, 2, 72). He who shall speak for her is afar of guilty but that he speaks (*Sh. W. Tale II*, 1, 105), i. e. simply in that he speaks, merely for speaking. The iron . . . would . . . consume away in rust, But for containing fire to harm mine eye (*Sh. K. John IV*, 1, 61). Were you a woman, youth, I should woo hard, but be your groom (*Sh. Cymb. III*, 6, 70). For the explanation of this passage we follow Mr. Delius: I should woo ardently, for to be only your servant. The explanation given by Mr. Abbott, who supposes a confusion between »if I could not be your

1) Chambers, *Cyclopaedia of English Literature*.

groom otherwise« and »but in any case I would be your groom« and an additional confusion arising from the phrase: »It would go hard with me but«, seems to be itself too much confusion. Where Brutus may but find it (Sh. Caesar I, 3, 144) i. e. no other than Brutus, according to Mr. Delius; whereas Mr. Abbott explains »cannot but find it«. For the explanation of Sh. W. Tale IV, 4, 169 and Hamlet V, 2, 120, where »but« likewise seems to mean »only«, cf. Abbott, Sh. Gr. § 128. I am but dust (Raleigh, Hr. 105). The tallest pine . . . were but a wand (Milton, P. L. I). I had but six (children) (Goldsm. Vic. I). Description would but beggar (ib. XI). You need but gaze on Ellen's eye (Scott, Hr. 399). The next but swept a lone hill-side (Scott, Hr. 405). These eyes but close to look within (Byron Manfred I, 1). The disgrace belongs to but a small part of the puritan party (Mac. III, 56).

When »but« refers to a verb, the auxiliary verb »to do« is very frequently made use of. This use has resulted from the origin of »but« above explained. — Thou didst but jest (Sh. K. John III, 1, 16). Thou didst but say 't is so (ib. III, 1, 6). They do but trifle with themselves, that do labour in past matters (Bacon, Hr. 107). I did but jest (Scott, Ivanhoe p. 77). He did but afford me the hospitality which I would have compelled from him, if he had refused it (ib. 192). They do but drive him (Irv. Sk. B. p. 14). — We remark that the verb »to jest«, when joined to »but«, is never found without the auxiliary verb »to do«.

A forgetfulness of the original meaning of »but« has led to the redundant use of »but« in »but only«, »but merely«. — He only lived but till he was a man (Sh. Macb. V, 8, 40). My lord, your son had only but the corpse (Sh. 2 Henry IV. I, 1, 192). (This man) thought characters and words merely but art (Sh. Lov. Compl. 174). I would live

a little longer . . . but only To thank you for your tender love (Beaum. and Fl., Hr. 98). He had but only me (Goldsm. Vic. VIII).

»But« with reference to adverbs and adverbial expressions of time. — Begin these birds but to couple now? (Sh. Mids. IV, 1, 145), i. e. not earlier than now. It was but last week (Goldsm. Good nat. man I). When here, but three days since, I came (Scott, Hr. 403). — Sometimes »but« joined to an adverb of time has an attenuated meaning (we anticipate this use here), the emphasis not being laid on »but«, but on the adverb; f. i. That catch you taught me but erewhile (Sh. Temp. III, 2, 127). Even at this word she hears a merry horn Whereat she leaps that was but late forlorn (Sh. Ven. and Adon. 1025). Remarkable is the use of »but now«; f. i. Whose whiteness so became them, as if but now they waxed pale for woe (Sh. Gentl. III, 1, 228), i. e. just at this moment. Ven. and Adon. 347. — »But now« is used in the earlier stage of Mod. E. also of things past, meaning: the least possible time since, a moment ago; we now use »just now« in this case, with the emphasis on the »just«. They but now who seem'd In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons, Now less than smallest dwarfs in narrow room Throng numberless (Milton, P. L. I). They that but now for honour and for plate Made the sea blush with blood, resign their hate (Waller, in Webster's Dict.). — Both different meanings of »but now« occur in the following passage: But now I was the lord Of this fair mansion, . . . and even now, but now This house, these servants and this same myself Are yours (Sh. Merch. of V. III, 2, 171). — »But even now« is likewise used in the sense: a moment ago. And, in a word, but even now worth this, And now worth nothing (Sh.

Merch. of V. I, 1, 35). — Gilray had but just begun to try his powers (Schmidt, E. Gr.).

Besides with adverbs of time, ›but‹ occurs in this attenuated meaning in the same manner as the German ›nur‹ and the French ›ne . . . que‹ may be used. — Have you but seen a bright lily grow, Before rude hands have touch'd it? Have you marked but the fall of the snow, Before the soil hath smutch'd it! . . . O so white! O so soft! O so sweet is she! (B. Jonson, Chamb. I, 124). Were we but less indulgent to our fault . . . Our Muse would flourish (Waller, Hr. 115). Were I but free, I'd take a flight (Cowper, Hr. 307). I'd brave the eagle's tow'ring wing Might I but fly without a string (Cowper, Hr. 307). And there was but two much reason to apprehend (Mac. IV, 12). It was but too probable that ect. (Mac. IV, 12). He has but too good reasons for thinking ect. (Mac. IV, 60). — Often in optative sentences and with imperatives: Where I but where 'tis spoken (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 430). I say, but mark his gesture (Sh. Oth. IV, 1, 88). — ›But‹ is frequently joined to the imperative of the auxiliary verb ›to do‹: Do you but mark, how this becomes the house (Sh. Lear II, 4, 158). Do but look (ib. IV, 6, 194). Do but look on her eyes, they do light All that love's world compriseth! Do but look on her, she is bright As love's star when it riseth! Do but mark, her forehead's smoother Than words that soothe her! (B. Jonson, Chamb. I, p. 123). Do but repose a little confidence in me (Scott, Keepsake).

›But‹ is distinguished from its synonym ›only‹ by its generally supposing an original negative thought, which has become affirmative only by ›but‹; whereas ›only‹ is directly put into relation to an affirmative thought. The fact that in most of the cases ›but‹ and ›only‹ are completely equivalent and may be used indifferently, does not

at all disprove the distinction given above, resulting as it does from the origin of the words.

The peculiarity spoken of in O. E., that one of the verbs generally used as auxiliary, is used in the principal sentence as a principal verb followed by an object, whereas in the elliptical accessory sentence it is to be supplied as an auxiliary verb, occurs also in Mod. E. — Though he do nothing but rail (Sh. Tw. N. I, 5, 174). He does nothing but smile (ib. III, 4, 205). A fourth did nothing but whistle (Dickens, van Dal.).

We now pass to the phrase ›cannot but‹. — Our soul cannot but yield you forth to public thanks (Sh. Meas. f. M. V, 1, 7). I cannot but be sad (Sh. Rich. II. II, 2, 30). I could not but look on gold with contempt (Massinger, Hr. 99). Nor could I ever but hold it for a . . . sordid speech (Milton, Chamb. I, 417). Whose structures cannot but be very nice (Locke, Hr. 152). The person they could not but admire (Steele, Hr. 184). I could not but smile (Goldsm. Vic. III). I cannot but recollect (Johnson, Hr. 270). I could not but notice a pie (Irv. Sk. B. p. 216). The ill humour of . . . could not but be noticed by the most heedless (Mac. IV, 5).

The same inexact, vague relation of the infinitive introduced by ›but‹ to the preceding sentence, on which the above construction is based, is observed in the impersonal ›it cannot be but‹ and in ›I cannot choose but‹. — In the middle between ›I cannot but‹ followed by an infinitive and the impersonal ›it cannot be but‹, followed by a complete accessory sentence, there stands the use occasionally occurring in Spenser; f. i. And though that right noble man . . . doe endeavour himself all that he may to yeeld equally justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurke in soe inward and absolute a privilege (A view ect.).

>It cannot be but<: It cannot be, I find, but such a face should bear a wicked mind (Sh. *Lucr.* 1539). It cannot be but thou hast murdered him (Sh. *Mids.* III, 2, 56). It cannot be but he was murder'd here (Sh. *2 Henry VI.* III, 2, 177). It cannot be but they will do you justice (Byron, *van Dal.*). — Similarly: It cannot be but a dishonour (Milton, *Chambers* 1, 417).

>I cannot choose but<: Words that could not choose but please (Spenser, *F. Q. I.* 1, 54). She cannot choose but love (Sh. *Ven. and Adon.* 79). That cannot choose but amaze him (Sh. *Wiv.* V, 3, 18). She cannot choose but be old (Sh. *2 Henry IV.* III, 2, 221). A voice so sweet and clear That I could not choose but hear (Longfellow I, 122). I cannot choose but weep for thee (Shelley III, 79). This cannot choose but strike confusion among the Burgundians (Scott, *Qu. Durward* 462).

A similar vague relation of the infinitive to the verb of the principal sentence is found in the following passage: I would not but have seen this letter for half I am worth (Richardson, *Sir Ch. Grandison*, London 1770, III, p. 6).

The use already met with in O. E., that the verbs of sensual and intellectual observation, when used negatively, may be followed by >but<, is expanded in Mod. E. inasmuch as this use is also extended to other verbs of a similar meaning, likewise only when negated or used in an interrogation expecting an answer in the negative. >But< is mostly met with in this case; not rarely however we also find >but that<. — I never *heard* it before, but that it (Ireland) was always divided into fowre . . . kingdomes (Spenser, *A view ect.*). I never *saw* but Humphrey did bear him like a noble gentleman (Sh. *2 Henry VI.* I, 1, 138). I see not but you may be king of England nevertheless (Scott, *Kenilw.* 32). They *think* not but that every eye can see the

same disgrace (Sh. Lucr. 750). Sh. Oth. III, 3, 325. You cannot think but that they are quarrelling (Tom Brown's school days I). Do not *believe* but I shall do thee mischief (Sh. Mids. II, 1, 236). Oh! who shall believe but you misuse the reverence of your place (Sh. 2 Henry IV. IV, 2, 22). Your uncle must not *know* but you are dead (Sh. K. John IV, 1, 128). We did not know but that the crowd might be very great (Dickens, Pict. of It., Rome). He had no *suspicion* but that I had dined long since (Fielding, Tom Jones 8, 12). I cannot be *persuaded* but that marriage is one of the means of happiness (Johnson, Rassel. 28). He could not be persuaded but that he was etc. (Lamb, Tal. fr. Sh.). I can hardly persuade myself but you're alive (Dickens, M. Chuzzlew. 1, 2). This does not *convince* me but that marriage is one of the means of happiness (Goldsm. Good nat. M. 3). Yet I'll not *pledge* myself, but that those letters may furnish you, perchance, with proofs against him (Coler., Picc. III, 3). Father, never *dream* . . . But ill must come from ill (Shelley, Cenci 1, 3). I never *read* but England's kings have had large sums of gold and dowries with their wives (Sh. 2 Henry VI. I, 1, 128).

»But what« instead of »but that«: The countess never suspected but what the horse had been placed there to meet them by the precaution of the guide (Scott, Hr. Gr.). I see not but what it may benefit the man that has been pricked with a sword (Scott, ib.).

To expressions such as »it is impossible«, it is not probable« ect. the accessory sentence may be annexed in the same manner as to those verbs, these expressions having a similar sense. — It is impossible but that they live yet (Beaum. and Fl., London 1839, I, 112). It is impossible but what I shall take Cronstadt (Bulwer, What will he ect., III, 11). It was scarce probable but what the in-

habitants of the cavern had some mode of issuing from it otherwise than by the lake (Scott, *Wav.* 18). I had no idea but what the story was true. He had no information but what the men were honest (The last two instances are quoted by Mr. Brown).

Here we have also to mention the phrases »not but« and »not but that«, which are elliptically to be explained, before »not« a verb of saying being to be supplied, which »but« or »but that« depends on: I do not say but (but that) i. e. I do not mean to say that not In German and French we have similar elliptical phrases, »nicht dass nicht«, »nicht als ob nicht« and »non que . . . ne . . . pas« or »non pas que . . . ne«. — Not but they thought me worth a ransom . . . But for their own sakes and for fear They were not safe when I was there (Butl. *Hudibr.* II, 2, 549). Not but upon these occasions no man in England is more punctual than . . . (Sam. Foote, *Chamb.* I, 768). Not but your father had good qualities (Bickerstaff, *Lionel Clarissa* I, 1). — Pray don't desire it of me: not but that you may persuade me to any thing, sooner than any person in the world (Southerne, *Oroonoko* I, 1). Thus we lived several years in a state of much happiness, not but that we sometimes had those little rubs which Providence sends to enhance the value of its favours (*Goldsm. Vic.* I).

Instead of »not but that« we also find »not but what« made use of. — Not but what I hold it our duty never to foster into a passion (Bulwer, *The Cartons* 18, 8). Not but what there were some two or three youngsters who manifested the first drawings of what is called fire and spirit (*Irv. Hist. of New York* III, 4).

The juxtaposition of the conditional and the indirect interrogative sentences to each other seems to be the cause

of the occurrence of ›but‹ in negative indirect interrogative sentences, especially after ›to know‹. — Ne wote I but thou didst these 'goods bereave from rightful owner (Spenser, F. Q. II, 7, 19). Who knows yet but from this lady may proceed a gem? (Sh. Henry VIII. II, 3, 78). Who knows but that God, who made the world, may cause that Giant Despair may die (Bunyan, Hr. 161). Who knows but all the matter which he told us might be intended as a warning to us (Fielding, Schmitz, E. Gr.¹⁾). How did you know but you would cut my lining too (Sterne, Tr. Sh. 48). She knew not but some new treachery was menacing her (Irving, Schmitz, E. Gr.). Who knows but he may be at Arnwood (Capt. Marryat, The Children of the New-Forest, 1). — Also here instead of ›but that‹ we occasionally meet with ›but what‹. — I did not know but what it was so (Schmitz, E. Gr.).

›But‹, ›but that‹ after the verbs of doubting and denying, when negated or used in interrogative sentences expecting an answer in the negative. — Noe doubt but some there be incorruptible (Spenser, A view ect.). Fear not but she will love you (Sh. Gentl. III, 2, 1). If you shall see Cordelia — as fear not but you shal — show her this ring (Sh. Lear III, 1, 47). Let it not be doubted but he'll come (Sh. Wiv. IV, 4, 43). I do not doubt but that my noble master will appear such as he is (Sh. Caes. IV, 2, 11). Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's mind vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men, poor shrunken things . . . ? (Bacon, Hr. 106). In this instance the blending of ›that‹ and ›but‹ in the resumption of the conjunction is

1) Bernhard Schmitz, Englische Grammatik. Berlin 1874.

remarkable. Yet doubt not but in valley and in plain God is as here (Milton, P. L. XI). Doubt not but that sin Will reign among them (ib. XII). I do not doubt but the comets will bear a part in this tragedy (Burnet, Hr. 144). He doubted not but such villanous arts had been made use of to destroy him (Fielding, Tom Jones 8, 5). He had no doubt but that this chum was certainly the thief (ib. 8, 11). It was no longer doubted but that she was the object that induced him to be our visitor (Goldsm. Vic. VII). He had not a doubt but this was the bedchamber of his beautiful unknown (Irving, Hr. Gr.). I doubt not but the expected pleasure of performing it was a principal motive with him (Scott, Wav. 48). — The negative may also be replaced by ›little‹: Be this as it may, up this river did the adventurous Hendrick proceed, little doubting but it would turn out to be the much looked for passage to China (Irv. Hist. of N. Y. 2, 1). There is very little doubt but he would have made the greatest governor of his size on record (ib. 4, 5). Making little doubt but that his instrument would be as effectual and offensive in war as was that of the Paladin Astolpho (ib. 4, 3). — ›But‹ is also retained when the accessory sentence is turned into an infinitive: I doubt not but to fashion (Sh. Much ado II, 1, 384). I do not doubt but to hear (Sh. Mids. IV, 2, 44). I doubt not shortly but to reign sole king (Marlowe, Tamburl. I, 1). He doubted not but to overtake his Sophia before she would set out from St. Albans (Fielding, Hr. Gr.).

You will not deny but it is to be abolished (Spenser, A view etc.). I cannot deny but that anciently it was common to most (ib.). It must not be denied but I am a plain-dealing villain (Sh. Much ado I, 3, 33). I neither can nor will deny but that I know him (Sh. All's well V, 3, 167). I deny not but that it is of the greatest concern-

ment (Milton, *Chamb.* I, 416). Robin could not deny but the gentleman favoured his master (*Spectator* 398). Nor can I deny but I have an interest in being first to deliver this message (*Goldsm. Vic.* VIII).

Also here »but what« occurs instead of »but that«: I have no doubt but what riot and sedition are intended (*Bulwer, Schmitz, E. Gr.*). Never fear but what our kite shall fly as high (*Bulwer, The Caxtons* I, 6).

Likewise other verbs and phrases implying the idea of doubting, may be followed by »but«: Wise! why, no question but he was (*Sh. M. f. M.* III, 2, 146). There is no question but the king of Spain will reform most of the abuses (*Addison, Webster's Dict.*). I question not but the design of this strange fashion is to smite more effectually their male beholders (*Spectator* 435). I question not but the surprise of the reader will here be equal to that of Jones (*Fielding, Tom Jones, Hr. Gr.*). I am not without hopes but by this method I shall bring some unsizeable friends of mine into shape and breath (*Tatlor* 241). It is not impossible but such a man with all his vanity and ostentation may have some real goodness in him (*Schmitz, E. Gr.*). It is not impossible but I may alter the complexion of my play (*Dryden, Webster's Dict.*). It is not impossible but I may meet him at Lady Morgan's this evening (*Baskerv.*).

»But« is used after the verbs of prevention, when these verbs, which are negative in themselves, are used without a negative, and sometimes even when they stand in interrogative sentences expecting an answer in the negative. This use has passed from the Romanic languages into the English. The negative of the accessory sentence, in Latin as well as in the Romanic languages, ought to express the negative tendency of the verb of the principal sentence;

the verb implies the negative sense, that something is not wished for. — Noe lawes, noe penaltyes can restrain them but that they doe . . . treade down . . . all both divine and human things (Spenser, A view etc.). What lets but one may enter at her window? (Sh. Gentl. III, 1, 113). What lets but he would be here (Sh. C. of Err. II, 1, 105). God defend but still I should stand so (Sh. 1 Henry IV. IV, 3, 38). In the passage: God defend, but God should go before such villains (Sh. Much ado IV, 2, 21). the context requires the sense: God must needs go before such villains. From the words however just the opposite thought results. We must suppose that there is in this speech a perversion of the thought intentionally put into the mouth of the eminent inquisitor Dogberry. — I could not lin but I must there lament (Sackville, Mirrour for Magistrates, Induction). What hinders then but that you find her out? (Addison, Cato 3, 7).

In the following passages ›but‹ is to be explained by the omission of a verb of prevention: Have you not countermand for Claudio yet But he must die to-morrow? (Sh. M. f. M. IV, 2, 95), i. e. to hinder but, to prevent that he must die. That song to-night Will not go from my mind; I have much to do But to go hang my head all at one side And sing it, like poor Barbara (Sh. Oth. IV, 3, 32). Have you not wit, manners, nor honesty but to gabble like tinkers at this time of night? (Sh. Tw. N. II, 3, 95). In the two last passages it is worth attention that the accessory sentence has been turned into the infinitive as in the above instances after ›to doubt‹.

3. *Interrogative principal sentence.*

The elliptical accessory sentence leans towards the whole principal sentence: Is there a creature in the whole country but ourselves, that does not take a trip to town

now and then, to rub off the rest a little? (Goldsm. She stoops I). Why should every creature drink but I? (Cowley, Chamb. I, 330). Will you never love any one but me? (Dick. Pickw. 2, 20).

The elliptical accessory sentence leans however mostly towards the interrogative: What remedy is there for this evil, but to make heavy lawes (Spenser, A view etc.). Theology what is it but the science of things divine? (Hooker, Hr. 133). *Bapt.* Now, Signior Petruchio, how speed you with my daughter? *Petr.* How but well, sir? how but well? (Sh. Tam. of the Shr. II, 1, 284). For what peace will be given to us, but custody severe? (Milton, P. L. II). For whence but from the author of all ill could spring so deep a malice? (ib.). For what in worth is anything But so much money as't will bring (Butler, Hud., Chamb. I, 363). Who, but himself, ever left a throne to learn to sit in it with more grace? (Steele, Hr. 183). Who should it be but my old neighbour, the upholsterer? (Addison, Hr. 185). For who should this person be but my good friend Mr. Watson! (Fielding, Tom Jones 8, 14). For what are tithes and tricks but 'an imposition? (Goldsm. Vic. VII). What part then remains but to leave it to the people to determine for themselves? (Junius, Hr. 298). Away went Gilpin — who but he (Cowper, Hr. 305). What but the greatest fool would be a knave? (Wolcott, Hr. 392). What are our great political societies but mere political inquisition? (Irv. Hist. of N. Y. 3, 9). Whom should he see in their company but the hated Goneril (Lamb, Tal. fr. Sh.)

“But” in the adversative coordination.

It is in Mod. E. of every page's occurrence; we therefore restrict ourself to give a few instances.

1. *“But” implying the absolute negation of the preced-*

ing thought: (He) Ne ever would to any byway bend, But still did follow one unto the end (Spenser, F. Q. I, 1, 28). *Speed.* Are they not lamely writ? *Val.* No, boy, but as well as I can do them (Sh. Gentl. II, 1, 97). (Once in Shakespeare »but that« is used in the same sense: All this uttered With gentle breath . . . Could not take truce with the unruly spleen Of Tybalt deaf to peace, but that he tilts . . . at bold Mercutio's breast (Sh. Rom. III, 1, 163)). T'was no fantastic object but a truth (Massinger, Hr. 98). Not inclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging etc. (Sidney, Hr. 101). Not for a fine glossy surface, but such qualities as would wear well (Goldsm. Vic. I). The whole is no effusion of fancy, but a faithful transcript from the writer's heart (Irv. Sk. B. p. 17).

2. "*But*" denoting a restricted opposition: He oft finds med'cine who his grief imparts, But double griefs afflict concealing harts (Spenser, F. Q. I, 2, 34). By foul play, as thou say'st, were we heaved thence, But blessedly help hither (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 62). To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds Timorous (Milton, P. L. II). True it is that philosophy makes us wiser, but christianity makes us better men (Fielding, T. Jones 8, 13). Their professions the last evening were warm but now they were ardent (Goldsm. Vic. XI). The chief is sad, but stately (Macphers. Hr. 321). One young woman of humble dress but interesting demeanour (Irv. Sk. B. p. 9). — Sometimes »but« is strengthened by »yet«: Who perforce me led With him away, but yet could never win The Fort (Spenser, F. Q. I, 2, 25), I killed a man . . . But yet I slew him manfully in fight (Sh. Gentl. IV, 1, 28). Stones and timber grow of themselves; but yet there is no uniforme pile . . . without toil and pains (Locke, Hr. 150).

»But« in reciprocal coordination:

»Not only . . . but«: Not only with what revenue yielded, But what my power might else exact (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 98). Not only to make a Cyrus . . . but to bestow a Cyrus upon the world (Sidney, Hr. 101). Not only my former income, but those additions (Fielding, Tom Jones 8, 9). He has not only shown human nature as it acts in real exigencies, but as it would be found in trials (Johnson, Hr. 266). Loyal to you, not only from principle, but passion (Junius, Hr. 294). He claps not only himself but his old-fashioned wife on my back (Goldsm. She stoops II). They not only forgave, but applauded him (Mac. I, 33).

»Not only . . . but also«: Not only the Common Lawe, but also the Statutes and Acts of Parliamente (Spenser, A view etc). Eteocles . . . Not onely shut his brother from the crowne, But also from his native country soyle (Gascoygne, Jocasta I, 1). A young Levite . . . might not only perform his own professional functions . . . but might also save the expense of a gardener (Mac. I, 322).

Besides these common forms of reciprocal coordination, there occur occasionally some other ones:

Not merely . . . but: The time of prosperity was to him not merely a season of barren joy, but productive of much useful improvement (H. Blair, Hr. 277). It interposes a gulf, not merely imaginary, but real, between us and our homes (Irv. Sk. B. p. 5).

Not merely . . . but also: You are depriving yourself of the comforts of her sympathy; and not merely that, but also endangering the only bond that can keep hearts together (Irv. Sk. B. p. 21).

Not only . . . but even: They don't only scorn to marry, but even to make love to any woman of a family not as illustrious as their own (Montague, Lett.).

Not only . . . but too: To whose free gift the world

does owe Not only earth, but heaven too (Butl., Ep. of Hud. 105).

Not alone . . . but: Companionous dear, Found worthy not of liberty alone, Too mean pretence, but what we more affect, Honor, dominion, glory and renown (Milton, P. L. VI).

3. "*But*" without real relation to what precedes: *Mir.* Had I not Four or five women once that tended me? *Pros.* Thou hadst, and more, Miranda. But how is it That this lives in thy mind? (Sh. Temp. I, 2, 46). Oh! hold me hard: — but, uncle etc. (Beaum. and Fl., Hr. 97). Did your pride descend from him? But let that pass. (Massinger, Hr. 99). For never was from Heaven imparted Measure of strength so great to mortal seed, As in thy wondrous actions hath been seen. But wherefore comes old Manóah in such haste With youthful steps? (Milton, Samson Agon.). It is but an oak, Alcíetha, bent over Lara's stream. But who comes along the plain? (Macph. Hr. 326). Ye towers! . . . And thou, O sad and fatal mound! . . . The dungeon, block, and nameless tomb Prepare, — for Douglas seeks his doom! — But hark! what blithe and jolly peal Makes the Franciscan steeple reel? (Scott, Hr. 407). Oh! I but thus prolong'd my words, Boasting these idle attributes, because As I approach the core of my heart's grief — But to my task (Byron, Manfr. I, 2).

Sometimes, as already in O. E., in lively and sprightly language »but« is found at the beginning of a speech: Upon my faith, Mr. N., but you have a singular species of madness (Capt. Marryat, Japhet 36).





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